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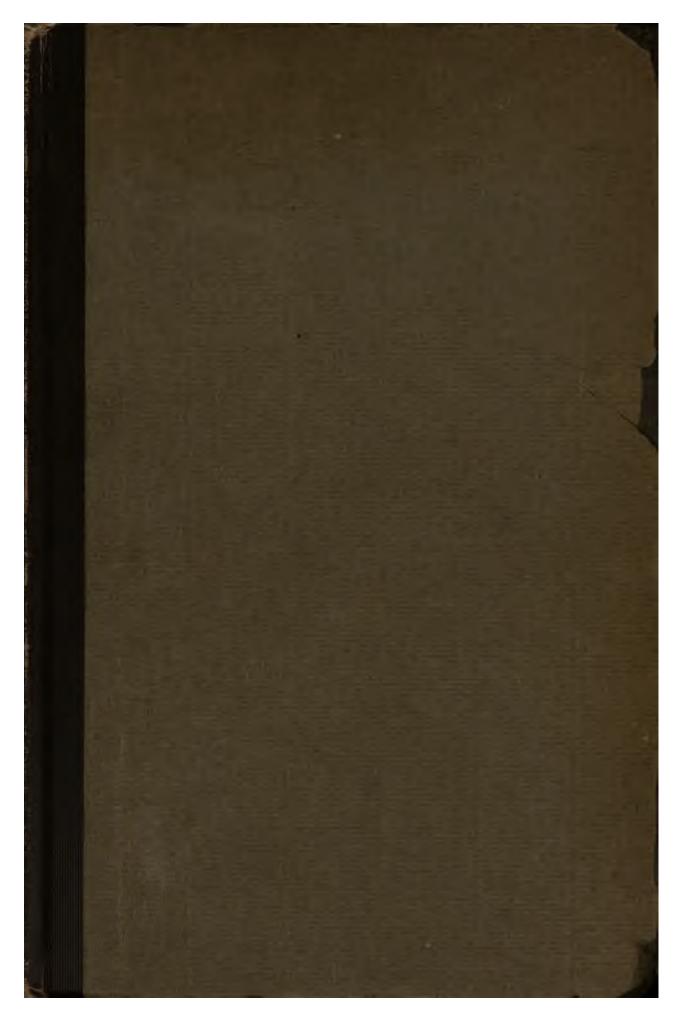
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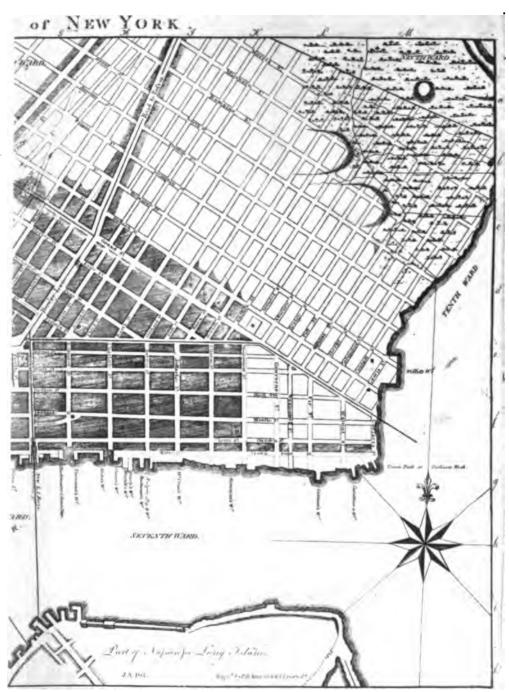
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A Walloon Family in America

Lockwood de Forest and his Forbears

IN TWO VOLUMES
VOLUME II

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Walloon Family IN AMERICA

Lockwood de Forest and his Forbears 1500-1848

By MRS. ROBERT W. DE FOREST

Together with

A VOYAGE TO GUIANA

BEING THE

Journal of Jesse de Forest

And his Colonists 1623-1625

VOLUME II



BOSTON and NEW YORK Published by HOUGHTON MIFFLIN COMPANY MCMXIV

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A Walloon Family in America

LOCKWOOD DE FOREST AND HIS FORBEARS

Walloon Family in America

LOCKWOOD DE FOREST AND HIS FORBEARS

IX

LOCKWOOD DE FOREST

Early Struggles

F Lockwood de Forest's childhood we know very little. Some of the incidents of his early life have already been mentioned, but for the sake of putting them in proper sequence, it is as well to repeat all the information that is available.

He was born on March 5, 1775, in the old house Moose Hill on the lower part of Moose Hill, the one which his grandfather, Samuel, had built about 1732 or 1733, when all that region was a wilderness. At the time of Lockwood's birth, however, a good many neighbors lived in the vicinity and half of the old house belonged to his father, Nehemiah.

Baby Lockwood was only a year old when his New Stratford father moved to the top of the hill and became landlord of the village inn. There the boy's childhood

New Stratford was passed during the troublous period of the Revolutionary War. Although he was only a little fellow we can imagine the boyish enthusiasm with which he heard the music of the fife and drum and watched the drilling of the recruits or saw his older cousins march off to the defense of their country; and how attentively he listened also to the stories told by the French officers the night they were quartered in his father's inn. He was six years old the evening of that dance on the village green, when he and the other children had peeped from the upper windows and wished that they were old enough to participate. It was upon this same night that his little brother De Lauzun, who was named for the gay French officer, was born. After the soldiers had marched away, Lockwood would go to the house of Squire Lewis and gaze at the French rapier which hung over the mantel-shelf. The sight of that rapier always made the lad long to be a soldier so that he could have a sword of his own and fight the enemy.

> As he grew older, he had plenty of occupations to keep him busy, foremost among them being his studies at the village school. The teaching afforded him there as a child was all that he had, and it was probably poor enough; but he showed later in life an aptitude for making the most of every opportunity, and so we may be sure that he learned all the little school could teach him.

There were in those days fully fifty children

who lived near enough to New Stratford to attend New Stratford this school, among the number being Lockwood's brothers and sisters and the three Wheeler girls — Sally-Betsey, Mehetabel, and Rhoda. Of all his playfellows he always liked best little Hetty Wheeler. and Hetty had apparently no objection to being singled out by him. Thus they grew up together.

In 1790, when Lockwood was about fifteen years old, his mother, Mary Lockwood, died. This was a serious loss for him. She was a good mother and had she lived would probably have exercised a wisely restraining influence over him. Three years after her death, in the spring of 1793, it became evident that Nehemiah was intending to marry again.

Perhaps the thought of his father's marrying suggested to Lockwood that he should do likewise, perhaps the idea of a stepmother was obnoxious to him, perhaps he simply found that he loved Hetty Wheeler; be the reason what it may, he decided to marry Hetty if Hetty would have him. Hetty, who at this time was but fifteen years old, was nothing loath; she probably considered that she was having trials of her own; for it was in 1793 that Grandmother Rhoda went to live with Hetty's parents at Foolshatch. So the two young lovers condoled with each other about these sore subjects with the result that Lockwood repaired to his father and announced that he had decided to marry and had chosen as his bride little Hetty Wheeler.

New Stratford

When asked by his father the reason for this sudden resolution, Lockwood answered that he thought marriage would "steady" him. Although his father and Hetty's parents may have believed that he needed steadying, they evidently did not consider this the best way of doing it, and strenuously opposed the marriage on account of the extreme youth of both parties. The young people were determined, however, and Nehemiah, already recognizing, perhaps, the inflexible character of his son's decisions, finally said, "Well, I suppose if you have made up your mind to do it you will do it." He therefore gave a reluctant consent, and on July 14, 1793, the services of our old friend, Rev. Elisha Rexford, having been secured, the two young people were married.

According to tradition, Nathan Wheeler gave his daughter by way of dowry only a cow! As Nathan was a prosperous farmer and not in any way a poor man, this meagre dowry may have been given to mark his disapproval of the marriage, or the story may have been exaggerated; but, whatever the reason, it has always been believed that with nothing to depend upon save Hetty's industry and Lockwood's determination to succeed, the young couple began life together in their modest home.

This youthful marriage, consented to with so many misgivings, turned out to be an exceptionally happy one. Many years later it was still talked of by some of Lockwood's and Hetty's former neighbors,

and the following reminiscences of it were then New Stratford written:—

Several aged people still living, whose memories retain events quite seventy years past, tell of the strong parental objections to that juvenile match, because of the youthfulness and inexperience of both parties and the apprehension that they would fail of self-support. But love and ambition dispelled the fears of the prudent seniors, and various pleasant anecdotes show the ingenuity and energy of the young bride who made their narrow resources meet their wants and conquered all doubts of the parents on that score. . . . All testimonials concur in delightful eulogy of Mrs. Mehetabel de Forest. Outside of sympathy with the romance of her early venture upon matrimonial life, there remains a pleasant tradition of her lovely and gentle character, giving promise from childhood of those qualities that endeared her to family and friends in subsequent years.

Mehetabel was indeed a wonderful little person — sweet, yet strong, very resourceful, always able to adapt herself to her environment, whatever it might be. Many of the anecdotes alluded to above are without doubt those which she herself loved to relate to her descendants in after years — tales of the days when she was young, when her resources were so slender, and when her little children came to her in rapid succession. Then, as she said, she had to be up early and late and would frequently set the table or perform other household duties while carry-

New Stratford ing a crying or fretful baby on her hip. In speaking of the makeshifts of poor people, she always said that there was no necessity for any child's wearing torn or soiled clothing; that she herself used to sit up after the family had gone to bed, to wash and mend so that her children might have clean and tidy clothes to put on in the morning.

> Not long after her marriage she and her husband looked over his wardrobe to see if it could be improved in any way. They found that his nankeen trousers, on which Lockwood depended for Sunday wear, were hopelessly faded. Hetty decided to try re-coloring them, and remembering the way her stepmother colored varn with a dve made from butternut bark, she tried the same concoction on the trousers. After they were dried and pressed, she was delighted with the success of the experiment, and she and Lockwood walked to church the following Sunday filled with praiseworthy satisfaction at the fine appearance which the young husband presented in his rejuvenated trousers and white waistcoat.

> He and Hetty with characteristic prudence had begun their wedded life in modest quarters. They had rented two rooms in a house belonging to Frederick Lewis, son of Squire Lewis, situated not far from the village green, on the road leading down the hill past the Monson homestead, which was later to be Nathan Wheeler's home. They were also tenants for a short time in another house in New Strat-

ford. In one or the other of these houses Meheta- New Stratford bel's first child, William Wheeler, was born on Christmas Eve, 1794. Shortly after this event the young couple were domiciled with Lockwood's father in the house on the Green, and there they remained until they left town in the autumn of 1796.

It must have been a lively and interesting family thus gathered under the roof of the old inn with its historic associations and its many rooms. Nehemiah and Eleanor were there with their infant son Charles, born in 1795, and six of Mary Lockwood's children still unmarried, were also presumably at home, when Lockwood brought his wife and little son to join the family circle.

Tradition says that shortly after his marriage young de Forest opened a store 1 in New Stratford facing westward on the Green, and that his affairs there prospered. He was of too active a disposition, however, to be able to confine his energies solely to storekeeping in a small village; before long he was interesting himself in local affairs, and occupying positions of trust in the township, thus following in his father's footsteps.

It is worthy of note, as marking his neighbors'

¹ This store was on part of the farm which the Rev. Samuel Monson afterward sold to Nathan Wheeler. It stood on a small lot about three-fourths of an acre in extent which lay across the street to the south of the rest of the farm. Lockwood probably leased this store until such time as his father-in-law bought it with the rest of the farm.

Lockwood de Forest

New Stratford appreciation of the integrity and business ability of the young man, then only nineteen years of age. that on December 25, 1794, at the annual meeting of the New Stratford Society, "lawfully warned and legally holden," they "voted that Lockwood De Forest be Treasurer for year ensuing." To be asked to fill such a position showed what an unusual degree of confidence, for those conservative and cautious days, was bestowed upon him; but those who voted may have been to some extent influenced by the fact that the young treasurer had on the previous day attained the dignity of fatherhood.

Following his father's example, Lockwood became a member of the Washington Masonic Lodge and was soon afterward made its treasurer. He was also appointed a town constable.

Weston

Still all these interests were not enough to occupy him. He felt, too, the restraining influence of his father's home and longed for a home of his own. He also thought that he might do better as storekeeper in a newer community. Therefore, in the autumn of 1796, not long before his second child was born, Lockwood left the old inn and the quiet village where he and his wife were born and made a venture on his own account. As we know, his brother William joined with him in this enterprise. They went, however, only to the neighboring township of Weston,1

¹ This township was afterward divided and the part where Lockwood lived is now called Easton.

on the western border of New Stratford. For a Weston corner lot two acres in extent, with a dwelling-house, barn, and store already on it, the two brothers paid "£450 lawful money." This purchase was made August 2, 1796.

We cannot help wondering how Lockwood secured his half of the price. Probably his father gave him part of it; for in Nehemiah's will, made in 1801, he says, "My dearly beloved son Lockwood" has had "as much already as will remain for my other children in the above proportion." Judging by the amount that the others received from their father's estate, it is likely that Lockwood had been given about \$500. Where did the remaining sum come from? We cannot tell; he may have borrowed it. At any rate, the surplus earnings of three years in a village store could hardly have reached so considerable an amount.

On February 17, 1797, a daughter came to gladden the hearts of the young people, and Lockwood gave her his mother's name, Mary Lockwood. Mary was born in her father's house in Weston Centre, the house which adjoined "Centre Store," and was on the opposite side of the street from the Academy; but she always loved in after years to say playfully that she was born in "the Devil's Den." This was the local name for a wonderfully picturesque spot in the neighborhood, which was not, however, a very fearsome place, although some neighbor devising

Weston property in the vicinity had ventured to allude to it as "the D---l's Den."

> Lockwood's separation from his father's family and his settling in a new neighborhood reveal one of his most marked characteristics; namely, a constant desire to move on in order to better himself. His ancestors from Jesse downward had ever been moving on toward the same end. They, however, had been pioneers, always pushing farther and farther into the wilderness. Lockwood, as it were, reversed the process and retraced their steps. Dating from his move to Weston and his ownership of the Centre Store there, his thoughts had begun to turn cityward, toward the prospect of a larger and more populous community as offering greater opportunities for advancement. Even at that early period, as the pastor of the Weston church afterward said, "The trend of life was already city-ward."

> It is not surprising, therefore, that only a year after buying the property at Weston, Lockwood, on July 18, 1797, should have sold his share to his brother William (for £200) and in the fall of that year should have left the hill country for good. All this was in the line of progress, but it was hard on nineteen-year-old Mehetabel, who in her four years of married life had had two children, had moved four times, and was now to make her fifth move.

¹ This was the house and store which William in turn sold to Nehemiah in 1798.

This change took Lockwood into the larger world Fairfield - to the county town of Fairfield. Ever since David de Forest had come to Connecticut just one hundred years earlier, one or other of our friends — David, Samuel, Nehemiah, or Lockwood - had lived in Fairfield County, but Lockwood was the first one ambitious enough to try his fortune at the county seat.

Doubtless the governing reason for Lockwood's move was that he had received certain official appointments which necessitated his residence in Fairfield. The first one was that of constable, the second that of "Collector of Town and State taxes for the towns of Fairfield and Weston" (40th Assessment District of Connecticut), and the third that of deputy sheriff of the county of Fairfield.

This last appointment had come through the high sheriff, "Elijah Abel Esquire." The high sheriff was himself always appointed by the Governor and Council. He in turn appointed six deputies who were responsible to him for many official acts, such as making arrests, serving processes, and executing warrants. They had the "same power as the sheriff appointing them," and the sheriff was responsible for any neglect or default on the part of his deputies. Among other duties was the proper keeping of the jail, or "gaol," as the word was more often spelled in those days. One of the deputies was therefore always put in charge of it and was required to

Fairfuld live in "the gaoler's house," which, although under the same roof, was quite independent of the gaol except for a communicating door. This duty of residence fell upon the shoulders of young Lockwood de Forest.

> Fairfield was a place of considerable importance even in early days. It was settled at about the same date as Stratford (1639), and the county of Fairfield, which included both towns, was established in 1666. Fairfield from its position on the Sound was a port of entry for Connecticut, and many vessels arrived there from distant places laden with rare and curious things of all kinds and with beautiful stuffs wherewith to bedeck the ladies, and the gentlemen, too, of the gay little town. Nor were the people satisfied to adorn their persons: they were ambitious to cultivate their minds too: and from the time when Harvard and Yale opened their doors, sons of Fairfield could be counted among their students.

> The Green was the oldest part of the town and the centre of the town life. On it were located the meeting - house, the schoolhouse, the ordinary or inn, and the gaol, with the court-house in the very middle. Both county and probate courts were held in this building and during more than two hundred years justice was dispensed from it. Stirring was the scene about it on court days, especially at the noon hour, when judge, lawyers, witnesses, and friends repaired to the tavern for their dinners.



EAST VIEW OF COURT HOUSE, CHURCH, AND GAOL, FAIRFIELD
From Barber's "Historical Collections of Connecticut," 1836

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Everything of any importance took place on the Fairfield Green. Here the train-bands were drilled in the early days, and later the militia went through their evolutions. In 1779, the year when Fairfield was completely destroyed by the British, it was on the Green that the British soldiers fought hand to hand with the inhabitants before the town was finally captured; and after the place had been burned church, court-house, and gaol, along with private houses — it was also on the Green that the hapless residents camped until they could improvise shelters on their home lots. After the war the town was rebuilt, but never, except for the buildings mentioned above, on the same scale as before. The many fine houses had all been destroyed, with their contents, and the owners could only afford to put up very simple buildings in their stead.

Such was the place to which Lockwood brought his family in the fall of 1797. He and his wife with little William Wheeler and Mary probably moved into their new abode soon after Lockwood had sold his Weston property to his brother in July, 1797. At any rate, Lockwood was already established in "my dwelling house in Fairfield" (the gaoler's house) before November 7, 1797.

The house itself was pleasant enough. It fronted on Meeting House Green, facing the court-house, and was a long, low building with a nice garden in the rear, surrounded by a picket fence. The garden

Fairfield was directly back of the site where the old Fairfield Academy building now stands, but alas, the Academy was built just too late for little William Wheeler to attend school in it.

> Very near the garden was a large pond, which, however, the children were hardly old enough to enjoy. This was the pond where in the olden times the authorities used to duck the witches. If they floated, they were true-enough-witches, but if they sank and perchance were drowned, they were declared innocent.1

> But the place where the children liked best of all to play, even better than in their own garden, was the lovely green in front of their home. Many years later little Mary was to live in a house which stood even then on a corner just across the Green from her playground. The picture of the Green taken from Barber's Historical Collections shows on the left the gaol and the gaol-keeper's house as they looked when the children played on the grass before the door.

We must now hear something of the gaol of which

¹ Poor Mercy Disborough and Elizabeth Clawson were "proven" in this pond in 1692, and the testimony given was that when they "were bound hand and foot and put in the water, they swam like cork; and one labored to press them into the water, and they buoyed up like cork." An old lady still living in Fairfield said recently, "Yes, we had witches here in the olden time and they were the smartest women in town!"

the children's father had charge. Such an institu- Fairfield tion was important even in those early days and the Fairfield gaol was of particular importance, as it was the only one between Fairfield and New Haven except farther back in the country, at Danbury. The earliest gaol at Fairfield, a very rude affair, had been burned down in 1768, a prisoner having set fire to it. The second was erected in 1769, it having been voted at a town meeting "that the County of Fairfield have liberty to erect a Prison and House for the Gaol Keeper on the westerly part of the Meeting House Green northwesterly of the Pond and southeasterly of the County Road and liberty for a garden for the Gaoler, the westerly extension of such garden to be five rods distant from Mr. Thaddeus Burr's Home lot." Ten years later, during the British raid on Fairfield, the second building followed the fate of the first. It was, however, rebuilt in the same form and on the same foundations.

The house was used as a tavern as well as a prison; it was here that people who came from a distance to attend court were entertained. It contained a public bar where any one might obtain liquor, an objectionable custom which was not abolished until 1844.

Not far from the gaol and in front of the courthouse was the whipping-post, which is still there but used for a less cruel purpose, as the support to a bulletin board. Here wife-beaters received their

Fairfield just reward, or refractory slaves or drunkards were given the prescribed number of lashes. Nearby were the stocks. Some of the culprits confined in the stocks were technically known as "tavern haunters." and they were liable to be fined \$3.34 or to be obliged to "sit in the stocks for the space of two hours." If a man could in any way supply the amount of his fine, we may be sure that he did so; for it was one of the children's favorite amusements to jeer at these helpless offenders.

> Of course, among those confined in the gaol were the usual malefactors; but there were many others detained simply for debt, and the sheriff was required to make a strict separation between debtors and felons. Some of the debtors were merely Episcopalians who had refused to pay rates for the support of the official Congregational church.

> Certain large trees at each end of the village were called "limit trees," and prisoners who were confined for debt only were sometimes allowed to walk as far as these trees if the gaoler thought he could trust their promises to go no farther. In the same way there were limit trees for the Tory prisoners during the Revolutionary War. Most of these trees have long since fallen into decay, but a few still remain.

> Some of the provisions for the care of the prisoners are interesting.1 The gaols were to be used as "Houses of Correction," and the rules for such

¹ See Statutes of Connecticut, Revision of 1795.

houses were to govern the running of the gaol. Fairfield Those who so desired were permitted to have their food sent to them, as well as linen, bedding, and other necessities. Gaolers were allowed \$.84 per week for the diet of each prisoner, but just after Lockwood left, this amount was increased to \$1.67 for the same period. For each commitment and discharge of a prisoner \$.34 was received by the deputy sheriff; for attending justices' court. \$.25. and for each mile travelled, \$.05.

In the earlier days many mortifying punishments were endured by prisoners, as, for instance, when they were taken outside the gaol and exposed to the gaze of passers-by. Perhaps it was some such humiliation as this which induced the prisoner to set fire to the gaol in 1768. We may hope the treatment was more humane under Lockwood's rule: it would hardly have accorded with his sense of justice and fairness to his fellow-man to have inflicted so unnecessary a punishment even on a criminal.1

Bridgeport had previously made several strenuous efforts

¹ That his successors were lenient is shown by the following amusing anecdote, written by the grandson of one of the high sheriffs: "I well remember, when the Jail was burned in 1852, that the released prisoners stood in a row under guard on the opposite side of the street and with tearful eyes loudly lamented the destruction of 'the best home they ever

In 1853, the year after this final burning of the gaol, the county seat was removed to Bridgeport, and the partly rebuilt brick gaol was converted into St. Paul's Episcopal

Fairfield

When Lockwood first came to Fairfield, he apparently did not feel absolutely sure that his new position as gaoler would suit him; for he took pains to secure the possibility of returning to New Stratford and his village store there. On December 8. 1707, shortly after he had settled in his new home, his father-in-law bought the Monson property in New Stratford, as we have already heard, and Lockwood's old store was included in the purchase. The very next day Lockwood bought from Nathan Wheeler for \$250 the store and the three quarters of an acre lot on which it stood. Possibly he persuaded the latter to manage the store for him; for he could hardly have taken charge of the Fairfield gaol and directed affairs in the New Stratford store at the same time, even had they been less than twenty miles apart.

We must remember, too, that he was collector of town and state taxes for the townships of Fairfield and Weston. His instructions were simple enough. He was given a list of taxes and told to collect them. This he did where possible by notifying landholders

to get the county seat away from Fairfield, one of the principal complaints being that it was difficult to obtain good and sufficient food there. On one of these occasions, in order to meet the slander, half a dozen residents of Fairfield were summoned, every one of whom weighed between two hundred and three hundred pounds. Thus was it proved that good food was abundant in Fairfield, and Bridgeport had to relinquish her efforts for the time being.

through advertisement to come and pay up. Sixteen Fairfield months later, in those cases where the taxes had not been paid, he "made public sale of said tracts of land and houses."

With all these varied interests Lockwood must have been a very busy man; it is said, moreover, that while he was gaoler and deputy sheriff he "did the bulk of the business connected with the Sheriff's office." His duties thus brought him in contact with judges and lawyers, and he gained a large acquaintance with men throughout the county, his constant attendance in the courts of Connecticut while he was deputy sheriff educating him in the general principles of the law. All this experience was of the greatest advantage to him in after life.

Although public affairs occupied so much of Lockwood's time, domestic concerns were of interest also. especially when another daughter, Susan, was born on June 3, 1799. Some people thought it rather out of the way that "one of those De Forest children" should have been born in the gaol, but this did not trouble Lockwood at all. The gaoler's house was his "dwelling house" and Mehetabel undoubtedly had made it a real home.

He was not gaoler much longer, however, for one of the other deputies was appointed to the position in 1800. It is possible that Lockwood resigned in order to have more time for outside ventures. Strangely enough, a copy has just been discovered

Fairfield of an old newspaper, "The American Telegraphe," printed in Bridgeport on November 19, 1800. From this paper we learn for the first time that Lockwood de Forest and his partner, Peter L. Gregory, under the firm name of De Forest & Gregory, ran a veritable department store in Bridgeport at that time. They advertised that they had just returned from New York with a fresh and very extensive assortment of goods, including "Broadcloathes, superfine and coarse: Cashmires, Friezes, Forrest Cloths, Baizes, Swansdowns, Velvets, Royal Cord, Callicoes and Chintzes, Dimety, Jackonett and Book Muslins, Sattin do., Cape do., Humhums, Irish and Check'd Linnen, Russell and various coloured striped and plain Callimancoes, Rattinett, Shalloon, etc." For the adornment of the ladies there were "Purple and white Shawls, Cammels hair and silk do. of various kinds and colours, silk Gloves and Hosiery, Worsted do., Satins of all Kinds, Laces and edgings, strip'd Lutestrings, of the newest fashion." In the way of eatables they advertised "Brandy and Rum by the bbl. or less quantity, Gin, Cherry-Rum, Molasses, Loaf, Lump and brown Sugar, Hyson skin, Suchong and Bohea Teas, etc." They also had a complete assortment of "Cutlery, Hardware and Crockery." What modern department store could carry a more varied line of goods!

> With this magnificent assortment displayed in Bridgeport, Lockwood de Forest had no longer any

Prosperous Days

use for his country store in New Stratford. So that Fairfield same year he resold it to his father-in-law, in order that he might put all his energies and all his cash into the new enterprise.

When Lockwood left the Fairfield gaol, he bought an acre of land in the town with a partly finished house upon it and, having completed the building, went there with his family to live. Having a good chance eight months later to sell it for over twice the sum he had given for it, he did not hesitate to do this and to move elsewhere.

He also shortly afterward sold several other pieces of real estate in Fairfield; he may even have sold his interest in the Bridgeport store, for we hear nothing further about it.

All these preparations would seem to indicate clearly that with increasing mental power and business ability he had begun to seek opportunities and activities elsewhere, and it is hardly surprising that with his characteristic energy he sought them in a larger community than Fairfield or even Bridgeport; namely, in the city of New Haven.

Prosperous Days

Some time during the later part of 1801 Lockwood New Haven gave the word and his family obediently followed him in the new and important move from Fairfield to New Haven, then a city of four or five thousand inhabitants. He was expecting to fill some of the same

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New Haven offices in New Haven that he had already filled in Fairfield: his position as collector of town and state taxes he continued to occupy for some years longer, for it was not necessary for the collector to live in his assessment district.

> Apparently the immediate reason for his change of residence was that he had become gaoler of the New Haven gaol, which would go to prove that his reign in the similar institution at Fairfield had been successful. In New Haven, during the year 1802-03, he held the office of gaoler and that of constable as well. In 1803-04 he was also one of the deputy sheriffs, but in the latter year there was a different man in charge of the gaol.

> We have now come to the time when Lockwood de Forest began to assume a more prominent position in the world. He was twenty-six years old, with a wife and four children (Eliza was born in Fairfield on April 12, 1801), and he was no longer satisfied with a subordinate position. He longed to work independently amid surroundings that offered larger opportunity for advancement. This wider opportunity was soon to appear and to take practical form. The new venture was to be far more exacting than any he had yet undertaken. It was no less a career than that of shipping merchant, for which all his previous and varied experiences had been preparing him. To this end his first step was to enter into partnership with John Buckley and Elihu Daggett under the firm

name of Buckley, De Forest & Co., and to establish New Haven himself with his partners on Long Wharf.

Union Wharf or Long Wharf, as it is usually called, was 3,480 feet long 1 and was built principally of stone quarried from East Rock: in its structure may still be found, however, material brought as ballast from many distant lands — rocks from Gibraltar or Malta, gravel from the harbor of Dublin, stones from Bristol, from the Gulf of Para, from Sicily, and from almost every island in the West Indies. "New Haven," wrote one of its sons, "owes its chief mercantile importance to this wharf, as the creek — the only practical means of reaching New Haven by water — was too shallow for shipping." 2 Its history is interesting. As early as 1644 such a wharf was proposed, and the Court ordered that every male in the town from sixteen years old to sixty should give four days' labor on it — "those that cannot worke to hyre others to work in their stead, and those that care to, work in their own persons." This amount of labor proving insufficient to finish the wharf, subscriptions were started. Owing to the scarcity of money, the subscribers often contributed such articles as one hundred bushels of salt, four pairs of shoes, hogsheads of molasses or brandy, West India

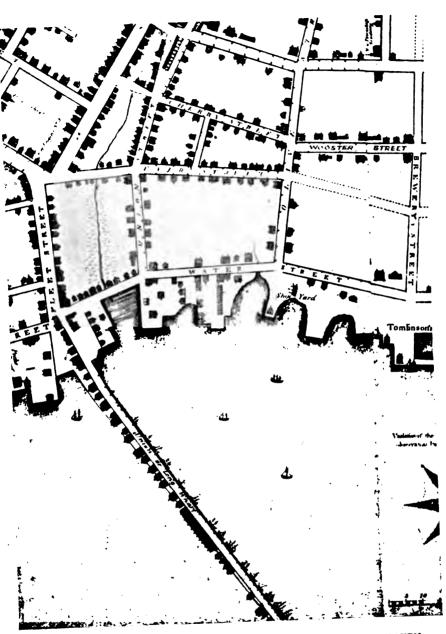
¹ In 1863 it was the longest wharf in the United States, but there are undoubtedly longer ones now.

² See able paper by T. R. Trowbridge, History of Long Wharf in New Haven, Papers of New Haven Historical Society, vol. 1, p. 86.

New Haven goods, loads of lumber or stone, while others gave their own services — blacksmithing work, freightage to New York, etc. In early days the General Assembly of the Colony authorized lotteries in order to raise £1000 for this purpose, and still the great work was not finished. It seemed like pouring water into a sieve. As late as 1799 no dividends had been paid, all the income for over one hundred years having gone toward repairs, and the wharf was not vet completed.

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Finished or not, the Long Wharf was the pride and boast of the "town born," for those who could claim this title held themselves above those who could not, and did not allow these latter the same rights on the wharf. In fact, a sharp distinction was drawn between the "town born" and "interlopers." It was the custom for the Long Wharf merchants to assemble frequently at the tayern at the head of the wharf to have a good time. There over a "bowl of punch" or "half and half," made from genuine "Grenada or Antigua" of their own importation, they would discuss the state of the West India trade, the condition of the country, and affairs generally. It was on one such occasion, "when nearly all were assembled, that the astounding news was received of the treachery of their old friend and fellow West India merchant, Benedict Arnold. They could not believe that one who in 1775 was with the foremost to march in defense of his country, could ever betray it; but when the evidence was past controverting, they con-



LONG WHARF AND THE SITE OF THE BONTICOU HOUSE, NEW HAVEN From Doolittle's Map of New Haven, 1812

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soled themselves with the reflection that Arnold was New Homes not a 'Long Wharf merchant'; had he been located on that venerable wharf, he could never have been a traitor."

Great, too, was the excitement among the boys in the town when the news would spread that a vessel had arrived from the West Indies! Then they would flock to the wharf, where oranges and cocoanuts were freely distributed and where there was always the possibility of securing sugar or molasses from leaky hogsheads. The Yale students, also, were wont to flock there for the good bathing opportunities it afforded.

To be situated on this wharf was a matter of real concern to shipping merchants. It is recorded that on August 25, 1804, Lockwood de Forest's new firm purchased from Andrew Hull, Ir., for \$1500 "a certain piece of land with two stores standing thereon . . . on the West Side of Union Wharf being the First & Second stores from the North end of the Long range, with all the Land & Flats thereunto belonging," and these "stores" must have been large ones; for it is noted that they contained at one time twelve hundred barrels of flour and, presumably, other merchandise. When these two stores were purchased, the wharf had just been thoroughly repaired and put in first-rate condition.

Although not town-born, Mr. de Forest became a very successful and prosperous Long Wharf mer-

New Haven chant, and his name is still to be seen in a list of the most prominent merchants of New Haven at that time. The business of the firm was largely a commission one and a considerable part of its trade was with the West Indies, as well as with South America, where Mr. de Forest's cousin, David C. de Forest ("Don Deforest," as he was called), was established in Buenos Avres. Among other things shipped by the firm were "well dried corn, oats, beans," and numbers of horses, the latter apparently being sent to these southern ports; the invoice at one time calling for "20 sprightly pacing horses" and at another for "30 well made gay young horses." Buckley, De Forest & Co. also received for sale hundreds of hogsheads of gin, brandy, and rum from the Windward Islands, and hundreds of barrels of best Virginia flour for "those private families who boast themselves of having good bread."

> Thus it will be seen that they prospered. In 1809 they seem to have taken Captain James Goodrich as partner, and to have largely increased their holdings on Long Wharf. Captain Goodrich was a firm friend of Lockwood de Forest and stood by him steadfastly at the period of great stress, now not very far off, when he was obliged to undergo a church trial. By 1811 John Buckley, who had already moved to New York, had sold his share of the property to the new firm, and it was then called Goodrich & De Forest.

What were Lockwood de Forest's family doing all New Haven this time and where was the home that sheltered them? On December 21, 1802, not long after his arrival in New Haven, he had bought the easterly half of a house (including a back kitchen, barn, outhouses, well, and pump) on the south side of the Green and installed his family therein. Although the situation was one of the very pleasantest in town. even this house was but a temporary abiding-place. Mr. de Forest probably wanted a little more space about him, and his partners no doubt felt the same need. Therefore on November 21, 1804, Andrew Hull, Jr., John Buckley, Lockwood de Forest, and Elihu Daggett together paid \$0,000 to James Bonticou for one acre of land with the buildings thereon, in that part of New Haven then called "New Township."

This lot was in 1804 not far from the water-side and was bounded on the north by the highway (Chapel Street), on the east by the land of William Fairchild, on the south by Wooster Street, and on the west by Olive Street. On it stood a commodious dwelling-house, and this with the other buildings Mr. de Forest and Mr. Buckley divided between them, while the rest of the property was owned by the four partners in undivided fourths. The two gentlemen above-mentioned, Mr. Buckley and Mr. de Forest, gradually became possessed of the two fourths originally belonging to Mr. Hull and Mr. Daggett, so that when in 1811 John Buckley (having

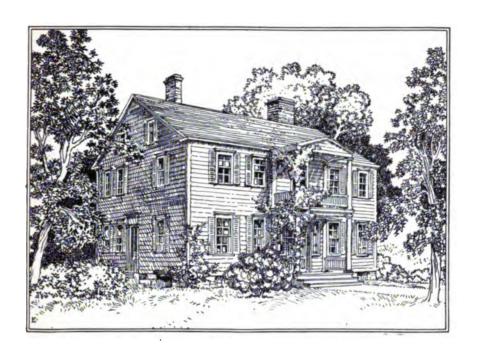
New Haven moved to New York) sold his share to Lockwood de Forest, the latter was left in possession of the original acre with all the buildings on it.

> The house had been standing since Revolutionary days and had, moreover, interesting traditions of that period. Captain Peter Bonticou built it about 1770. He was a prosperous shipping merchant and had large dealings with the West Indies. There were not many stores or warehouses in New Haven at that date and the foresighted captain had built under his house a spacious cellar, "as big as a ship's hold," it was said. Why this huge cellar? And on what was based the tradition that an underground passage connected the cellar with the harbor? Could we, perchance, suspect our captain of smuggling a bit? Maybe; for Peter Bonticou's house faced toward the water-side and was easy of access therefrom, and we know that many another New Haven cellar housed goods which never paid taxes to His British Majesty.

> Above the cellar the house was two stories high, with large pleasant rooms. In front there was a porch with doorways on both first and second floors. and on each side of the porch were seats. There was then a garden surrounded by a picket fence in front of the house.

> In this pleasant house Peter Bonticou lived with his family, which included his aged father Timothy.1

¹ Timothy Bonticou, who was of Huguenot descent, had in his early married life lived in Stratford.



OLD BONTICOU HOUSE, WOOSTER AND OLIVE STREETS, NEW HAVEN

A RESTORATION TO SHOW ITS PROBABLE APPEARANCE IN 1804, WHEN LOCKWOOD DE

FOREST FIRST LIVED THERE

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When the British invaded New Haven, a mob of New Haven drunken soldiers visited this house, where they ripped open mattresses and furniture in their search for valuables, promptly robbed the old gentleman of his silver knee and shoe buckles, and attempted to abduct the daughter of the house. Her mother with great tact entertained the soldiers while sending secretly for help. Some Royalist neighbors intervened, but only just in time; for they found old Timothy with a rope around his neck and the other end thrown over one of the beams of the house.

The house is still standing, but not exactly as it was; for Mr. de Forest, feeling the need of more room for his ever-increasing family, raised the roof and added another story, and since then the streets have been widened, and lawn and fence have disappeared. Thus the old home may be seen to this day, but in a rather dilapidated condition, on the northeast corner of Wooster and Olive Streets.

Of course money was needed for all these expensive purchases; and as money was scarce in the de Forest family when they first came to New Haven, they bethought themselves of the old farm at Foolshatch, the one in which little Hetty and her sisters had been born and which was still owned by the three sisters. Hetty thereupon persuaded Sally Nichols to join her in selling their interest in the farm to their stepmother, Eunice. Each of them received £121; and Hetty's portion, even if it was

New Haven not a very large sum of money, was of course a help to her husband.

> One of the first things Lockwood did after having established his family in his temporal home was to seek a spiritual home. He and Mehetabel were descended from devout, earnest, Christian people, serving God with true New England strictness, holding closely to the Calvinistic teaching of that day, and they naturally allied themselves with the church that most nearly conformed to these doctrines. This proved to be the "First Church and Society in New Haven" (Congregational), now called the "Centre Church."

> When they first went there, the minister, although a good and learned man, did not preach very interesting sermons nor was he inspiring in any way. It was therefore hardly surprising that the congregation in 1805 voted that he "retire from his pastoral labors." On March 5, 1806, the Rev. Moses Stuart, a young man of "strong impetuous eloquence," was ordained pastor, and under his ministrations a memorable revival of religion took place, and both Lockwood and Mehetabel came under its influence.

> They had never really "joined the Church" nor had any of their children been baptized; but under such impelling power as that of Mr. Stuart they could no longer delay, and on April 6, 1806, they came before the congregation and were formally

admitted to the church. Their five children - New Hones. William Wheeler, Mary Lockwood, Susan, Eliza, and Jane — were at the same time baptized. What a touching sight it must have been! First, the father and mother received their membership, and then the five little children, ranging in age from eleven vears to one year, were brought forward and received baptism. Verily a testimonial to the earnestness of Mr. Stuart as well as to the doctrines he preached!

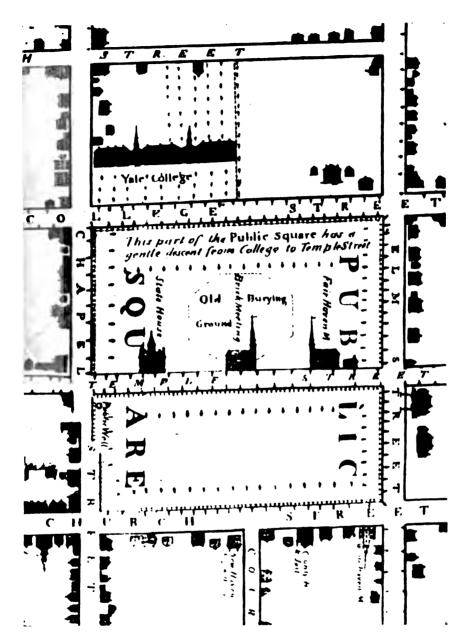
But this joining of the church gave grievous importance to an act committed by Mr. de Forest which was later to involve him in a long and cruel controversy. It was no more than that of playing cards with some friends in New York, but such an act was considered a crime by many of the godly people of that day. The circumstances will be fully related in the account of Lockwood's church trial, but we may say now that Mr. Stuart, having heard in some way of Mr. de Forest's card game, spoke to him about it. The latter felt at first that there was nothing really wrong in his action because the friends with whom he played engaged frequently in a game and yet were "very good men." Later, however, he went to Mr. Stuart and made to him an "ample acknowledgement of his guilt" and expressed his contrition therefor, and to any of his friends who spoke to him about the matter he declared himself in the same way regarding the New Have

"crime." After thus, as he supposed, having performed his whole duty, he considered the matter closed and no longer troubled himself about it.

The church continued to increase and strengthen under Mr. Stuart's ministry and Mr. de Forest greatly enjoyed and appreciated his constant association with his pastor. Unfortunately for him, however, this state of affairs was not to last. Mr. Stuart, who seems to have had more influence over him than any one else, was in 1810 called to the Professorship of Sacred Literature in the theological seminary at Andover and felt it his duty to accept.

In 1812 the vacant pulpit was filled by the Rev. Nathaniel W. Taylor — a strong and good man, but somewhat lacking in the tact which was so marked in Mr. Stuart. Under the guidance of Mr. Taylor many new members were added to the church, and it was during his pastorate, in 1813 and 1814, that the new Centre Church, to this day one of the most beautiful and dignified structures in New Haven, was built in the middle of the Green. It was in this noble building, only a year later, that Lockwood de Forest was to stand on trial before the congregation.

Lockwood was a man of high character. He was also of strong and ungovernable will, very persistent, very strenuous in the matter of what he thought right, doing it without hesitation and without much



NEW HAVEN GREEN AND CENTRE CHURCH
From Doolittle's Map of New Haven, 1812



consultation with others or regard for their views. New Hours During the fourteen years of his residence in New Haven he led a serious and earnest life, imperious with his children, from whom he exacted strict obedience, bringing them up in a harsh and formal way, as was the custom among the early New Englanders.

Three daughters and two sons were born during the residence here: Jane, April 12, 1804; George Beach, December 27, 1806; Ann Mehetabel, March 13, 1809; Sarah, March 27, 1811; and Alfred Henry, August 20, 1813 — nine children in all and more still to come.

William Wheeler, the eldest son, was a boy of great promise and determined character, combining some of his father's worthiest qualities with many that made his mother most lovable. For the latter he had ever the tenderest regard.

Perhaps it was a desire to get away from the rigid parental discipline that made William Wheeler, like many another boy, determine to leave home and go to sea. Perhaps it was only a restless longing to see the world of which he had heard so much. Stories of the sea, acquaintance with his father's skippers, and the sight of ships setting out to distant ports, were part of the lad's daily life. Whatever the reason, William Wheeler on his return from New York one day in September, 1812, being then seventeen years old, announced that he had engaged to

Lockwood de Forest

New Haven sail in a few days as a common sailor on the ship Triumph, Captain Coggeshall, bound on a sealing vovage to the Pacific.

> His father deemed it wise to give his consent, but it was with many misgivings, as war with England had already been declared. Heavy indeed must have been the heart of the gentle mother, Mehetabel, when she found herself forced, in the scant time allowed her, to prepare a hasty wardrobe for the sudden and what might be the perilous voyage of her first-born. The restrained concern of the parents is evident from the letter which Lockwood wrote to the captain.

> > New Haven, 28 Sept. 1812.

CAPT. COGCESHALL.

SIR,

My son William has just returned from New York and informed me he intends to go to sea with you and says the ship is to sail on Sunday next. Without enquiring particulars it would be very satisfactory (as the times are so critical) to know from you whether the ship goes documented so as to protect her from capture, and whether there will be any objection to his putting in some little articles which he will take down with him, and when he must be down. Please drop me a line by mail.

> Yours Respectfully. LOCKWOOD DE FOREST.

Into his son's keeping the father gave the following affectionate, if somewhat stilted, letter of

Prosperous Days

advice and admonition, addressing it to William New Haven
Wheeler, "On board Ship Triumph. At Sea."

MY DEAR CHILD,

The tenderness, affection & extreme anxiety we feel for you, the thought of your departure for a long, arduous & dangerous voyage, makes it my duty to address to your most serious consideration, my solemn (perhaps last) Parental & most affectionate advice. And by all the affection you bear to tender Parents, and affectionate Sisters, I beg you when far away to read thisover, and rememberit as the advice of a father. Forget not also the many pious lessons of advice & counsel you have so repeatedly had from the lips of a dear & tender Mother, & who will not fail to join her prayers with mine to the throne of Grace for your preservation & safe return to her arms again.

My Son, you are now entering on the stage of life, at an uncommon & early age. You have chosen a profession for yourself, which though dangerous, yet opens to an industrious & persevering mind, a Noble risk & glorious Field, a field in which the brightest talents may be richly improved, & the greatest exertions the most nobly rewarded. You are then from this moment to begin to act for yourself. And first of all others remember your duty to God — fail not at all proper times to pray earnestly to him for Mercy & pardoning Grace through a blessed redeemer — implore his divine assistance to guide you in all things, for his protection amidst all dangers, and for his holy spirit to deliver you from all sins & every temptation. On no occasion whatever, let his Holy Name be taken in vain by you - but remember while yet in your youth your Creator & the

New Haven God who preserves you - faithfully improve all the leisure time you can get, in reading, writing, cyphering, or the study of navigation, but especially read your Bible.

> Next to your duty to God, follow your duty to your Officers & to the Ship — always be the first when called on duty, & the last to shrink from it - rush not into danger foolishly, but if danger press be firm at your post — never for a moment forget the object you have before you — consider what hopes & expectations your friends have formed of you, be always employed about something useful either to yourself or others. Remember that all your future prospects in life, your own present and future happiness, as well as much of the happiness of your Parents & friends, & your own honor & character depend altogether upon your own conduct & behavior.

> Never let your honor be impaired by the utterance of a falsehood — shun as a pestilence habits of blackguarding, it is infamous, & would you make yourself agreeable to others & happy in yourself, never, I say, never allow yourself to get into a passion - regard not trifling insults, but treat them with contempt, rather suffer wrongs from others than do wrong yourself endeavor to cultivate friendship with all on board better is the friendship of a dog than his ill will — keep yourself neat & clean, your clothes all in good order, & in their proper place — be prudent & sparing of everything you have, & preserve & lay up all you can for time of need.

> Take proper advice in all cases of any importance, in laying out money if any you have, buying or selling anything — and improve every opportunity of writing

Prosperous Days

home that you may have — And finally my Son, I New Haven commend you to that God, who is able to preserve & keep you — & with the most fervent prayers for your health & safety, for a prosperous voyage & due return, I subscribe myself your affectionate

FATHER.

Captain Coggeshall, who was a distinguished captain in those days, became very fond of Wheeler, as he was usually called, during the long voyage and after their return spoke warmly of him to his parents. He thought that the young sailor even then showed great strength of character, and he told the following story as an instance. Wheeler had been quite seasick during the early part of the voyage, but on being told to go to the masthead had gone, and was overcome while up there. Captain Coggeshall called, "Wheeler, come down, you are not fit to be up there," to which Wheeler answered, "Am I not fit to do my duty?"

Wheeler lived to gain an enviable position in the business world and to become a man of great wealth, but how nearly his career was ended during this early voyage is related by his younger brother Henry, who in his sixty-third year wrote for his children and grandchildren some delightful reminiscences, from which we have already quoted a few passages.

When not over twelve [his father's letter proves that he was really seventeen] years of age, Wheeler went to

New Haven sea as a sailor boy on a sealing voyage to the Pacific and continued to follow the sea for about two years. I think he remained in the same ship but possibly he came home during the period and then made a second voyage.

> I have heard him recount a narrow escape he had off the coast of California. The ship was lying off the shore, and a part of the crew had established themselves in huts or tents on a small rocky island watching for seals and sea elephants. He had plunged into the sea for a bath, and was floating quietly on his back when his attention was attracted by the noise of a stone falling into the water just behind him. On turning over and facing the land, he saw his comrades beckoning him back and immediately swam toward the shore and into the breakers. The last wave seemed to wash him from between the jaws of an immense shark (Killer) which had that moment turned over to devour him. As he touched the beach, the shark also grounded striking against a rock and killing himself.

> At another time, when the ship was going northward for seals, Captain Coggeshall deemed it wise to make a cache of part of the ship's stores. He therefore selected a desert island and landed there a large quantity of provisions. Of course it was necessary to have them guarded, and this duty fell to young Wheeler, his only companion being a negro. All went well for a while, the weather was pleasant, and they had plenty to eat, but finally it grew cold and they suffered greatly. They had been left, as they supposed, for a short time only and had no

extra clothing, no tools or books. The nights were New Haven terribly cold and they were both glad enough to creep into a single barrel that they might thus try to keep each other warm.

Day followed day and they thought that they had been abandoned. Loneliness and the lack of occupation were very terrible to bear and these became worse and worse as time drifted on. Wheeler used to tell his family in after years that he sometimes became almost light-headed and began to wonder whether he ever had had a change of clothes or trodden upon a carpet or enjoyed any of the amenities of life. In fact, he began to wonder which things were real and which imaginary. It was only after three months of this terrible existence, when they had abandoned all hope of being rescued, that the ship hove in sight.

Three years after Wheeler's departure — the lad having then returned from his sealing voyage — Lockwood de Forest decided on his fourth and most important change of residence. With his wife and nine children he removed in the fall of 1815 to New York.

The residence in New Haven had been endeared to him by many pleasant associations and some sad ones. His father died, as we know, in 1801, and almost immediately thereafter Nehemiah's children began to leave the hill country, several of them following their brother's example and making their

New Haven, homes in New Haven. As the lives of some of these sisters and brothers were much interwoven with Lockwood's, we shall here give a few details which may be of interest.

> Polly de Forest was the first sister to leave her old home and move to New Haven. It will be recalled that in 1797 she had married Samuel Moss Monson of New Stratford. In 1803, after only six years of married life, Polly was left a widow, and shortly afterward she came to New Haven.

> Abby de Forest, who had also been married from her father's house, probably in 1797, was very happy in her choice. Her husband, Legrand M. Lewis, lived only a short time, however; in 1808 she also became a widow. Immediately after her husband's death she too moved to New Haven, where she bought a small plot of her brother's land at Wooster and Olive Streets and presumably built a little house.

> Betsev de Forest never married. After her father's death she went with her stepmother to live in Bridgeport, but after her sisters Abby and Polly moved to New Haven she joined them there. Abby Lewis had been left better off than either of her sisters and it is not unlikely that she shared her house with them.

> All the sisters came under the spell of Mr. Stuart's eloquence; Polly joined his church in 1807; Abby and Betsey, in 1809. Abby was especially

earnest in all her religious duties, and in 1814, when New Howen the revival spirit was abroad in the land, she and some of her friends, "having heard of the extraordinary out-pouring of God's spirit in the neighboring towns," organized a small society of women, twelve in all, to meet weekly and "offer up united prayers for the prosperity of Zion here and elsewhere." One of their rules gave them latitude in criticizing and reproving each other. Such admonitions were allowed and indeed encouraged by the rules of the Congregational church of the period.

Abby returned to her old home in New Stratford in 1818, her brother Lockwood having left New Haven, and Betsey made her home with him after he moved to New York.

De Lauzun de Forest also came to live in New Haven, probably preceding his sisters there. On April 24, 1808, he too joined Centre Church and in the same church was married, a month later, to Lydia, daughter of Captain William Brintnall of New Haven. This marriage, like those of Abby and Polly, was not of long duration, for De Lauzun died in New Haven on November 27, 1815, at about the time of his brother's departure for New York.

It must have been hard for Mehetabel to go so far away from her early home. Up to this time she had been in the habit of going back to pay her father a visit each summer, taking some of the children

Lockwood de Forest

New Haven with her. We may imagine the fun the youngsters had on their grandfather's farm, hunting squirrels in summer and gathering chestnuts and walnuts in the fall.

> Sometimes Mehetabel's husband went with her on these pilgrimages, as they might be called. During one of them (but this was after the family had gone to New York to live — in fact, in 1826) they travelled to Newtown, the home of "Sister Sally Betsey." While there the de Forests called upon "Grandmother Rhoda Sherman," the one who had buried four husbands. She was much complimented by their attention and told them that she was then almost eighty-nine years old.1

> From Newtown the travellers went to Barn Hill to see Mrs. Milton Hawley, "Aunt Hepsy," the aged sister of Lockwood's father. She told them all the old family traditions and those of Barn Hill as well. She also boasted that she had received a visit from her great-great-granddaughter a few days before. Aunt Hepsy was now ninety-two years of age; but if we doubt the accuracy of her account, we must turn back to the chapter about her father, Samuel, and see what is said there about her wonderful memory.

> It was possibly on this journey when Mr. and Mrs. de Forest were travelling in a stage-coach that an old man with snow-white hair alighted. A fellow-

¹ Grandmother Sherman died only two months later.

passenger remarked, "A hoary head is a crown of New Haven glory," Mrs. de Forest instantly adding, "If it be found in the way of righteousness"!

Her son Wheeler would never be left out of these visits, and continued to spend part of each summer at the farm even after his grandfather's death in 1871, when it was his Aunt Betsey Wheeler whom he visited in the old home. He was always fond of horses and would ride those belonging to his grandfather about the country.

On one occasion he went from place to place all over the state visiting relatives. He travelled part of the time on Uncle David's 1 old yellow horse with a great travelling valise before him, and afterward in a wagon at the rate of twenty-five cents a mile. Thus he and a friend arrived at Nathan Wheeler's house, where they were, as always, hospitably welcomed and where, as Wheeler said, "Grandfather made us both boozy." If we remember Nathan Wheeler's barrels of apple brandy in the cellar and the toddy glass which held a quart, we can hardly be surprised at this result.

When Wheeler left the old homestead to return to the city, he went down over the old Moose Hill road "on Grandfather's mare with Jim Judson's boy behind" him, but he does not say what then became of the big valise. It was on this journey that he philosophically and from the depths of his great

David Nichols, who married Mehetabel's sister Sally.

New Haven experience gave the following advice to a friend: "It is useless to fret one's gizzard out, we shall all live till we die and the better way is to take things as they come."

New York

But we have wandered too far from the subject of Lockwood de Forest's momentous move to New York. This was justified in worldly prosperity; but the first years in the city were clouded by an occurrence that touched him very deeply, because it involved a question of personal honor and religious standing, and for many subsequent years occasioned a bitter struggle with his former pastor and brethren in New Haven. The peaceful current of family and personal life was now to be broken, and he was never again to enjoy complete freedom from controversy and disquiet. I refer to the church trial of which mention has already been made and for a proper understanding of which we must go into fuller particulars of Lockwood de Forest's characteristics than we have vet.

We have already had evidence that with all his fine qualities he was an imperious and unvielding man, sure of his own decisions and often unable to see the other side of a question. After he joined Centre Church, he went into church matters in the same whole-hearted but dogmatic way. For all that, he was amenable to reason, if treated tactfully, as we must realize when we read of Mr. Stuart's persuading him that it was a "crime" for him to play

cards. Many a time a spirit of tolerance and con- New York ciliation on both sides would have smoothed things over, but it was an age when people thought that right was right and wrong was wrong, and that there was no intermediate ground. Therefore, when two good men differed as to what they considered right or wrong, neither wished to yield, because each conscientiously felt that his interpretation was just. When, however, religious differences could not be settled between man and man, they had to be brought before the congregation. The churches of Connecticut were principally of the Congregational order; the congregation was supreme, and all important decisions were made by that body. Unfortunately the majority sometimes tyrannized over the minority and even over individual members.

As early as 1708 a Synod or General Council of the churches of Connecticut had been held in Savbrook and there were formulated the "Saybrook Articles of Discipline" (that is, ecclesiastical discipline), more commonly called the "Saybrook Platform." Some of the provisions of this Platform read as follows: "Admonition is in case of private offences to be performed according to Matt. 18: 15, 16, 17, and in case of public offences openly before the Church as the honor of the Gospel and the nature of the scandal shall require; and if either of the admonitions take place for the recovery of the fallen person, all further proceedings in the way of censure New York are thereon to cease and satisfaction to be declared accordingly.

"When all due means are used according to the order of the Gospel, for restoring an offending and scandalous member and he notwithstanding remains impenitent, the censure of Ex-communication is to be proceeded unto."

Even Abby Lewis's "Praying Society" in New Haven had the following rule: "That each of us will make it an incumbent duty, to watch over one another in love and reprove and admonish each other when we shall say or do any thing inconsistent with our profession, and the member transgressing shall not be offended to be thus dealt with."

It was therefore the privilege or rather the duty of any of the brethren to offer reproof where he felt it was deserved, and the culprit was expected to receive the reproof with both humility and gratitude. It was also directed that "further proceedings in the way of censure" should cease after the "fallen person" had been so dealt with, but this provision was hardly carried out in the case of Lockwood de Forest.

The effects of the trial or prosecution upon Mr. de Forest's subsequent life were of the most unfortunate character. He considered that he had not been fairly treated, and it seems quite clear that his whole nature became changed and in certain ways embittered and hardened by its results. He had

The Church Trial

been strenuous before and positive; now he could New York hardly brook contradiction of any kind.

For many years his family dreaded any allusion to the prosecution, and both family and church would have been unwilling to have any account of it written. But all that is now a thing of the past. The trial took place a hundred years ago and is now a matter of old and most interesting church history. Those who had a part in it are all dead, there is nothing personal in the account as given now, and no one can be hurt by the mention of these old difficulties, which were so bitter at the time when they occurred.

The Church Trial

Lockwood de Forest's first residence in New York was not in the city itself but in one of its suburbs, called "Greenwich Village." In Greenwich Village there was at that time a Dutch Reformed Church, under the pastoral care of the Rev. Steven M. Rowan; and as the doctrines of the Congregational and Dutch Reformed churches differ only in some details of church government, Mr. de Forest decided to put himself and his family under Mr. Rowan's guidance and informed the latter that he, Lockwood de Forest, and his wife Mehetabel intended to join the Greenwich Village Church before the next communion season. Mr. de Forest therefore wrote to his former pastor, the Rev. Nathaniel

New York W. Taylor, asking for letters of dismissal and recommendation for himself and his wife.

We must now go back a little in our narrative. Captain William Brintnall, a member of the New Haven church, was connected by marriage with Lockwood de Forest through the union of his daughter, Lydia, with Lockwood's younger brother, De Lauzun, who had recently died in New Haven (November 27, 1815), leaving a widow and two children. About the time Lockwood's request was made, Captain Brintnall sent a message to Mr. Taylor, saying that he supposed that Mr. de Forest would soon be asking for letters to his new church, but that there were old affairs of his which had never been settled and that he should object to Mr. de Forest's having a "recommendation" to another church.

The pastor informed Mr. de Forest of this message, adding, however, that the latter was not bound to go to Brother Brintnall, who, if he had complaints to make, should rather go to Brother de Forest and talk them over. Thereupon Mr. de Forest begged Mr. Taylor to ask Captain Brintnall to let him (de Forest) know what he had against him, in order that he (de Forest) might give him satisfaction. This was in December, 1815.

Captain Brintnall, however, did not let him know, and Lockwood de Forest, becoming rather bitter against him, wrote from New York accusing

him of "unjustifiable conduct" and speaking of the New York injury that his family and he might sustain through Captain Brintnall's causing them to be "victims of censure and ignominy without making his complaints known to me, asking Satisfaction from me, or giving me an opportunity to vindicate myself." He also expressed regret at "a Controversy involving a train of unhappy Family affairs, which always degrades one or both parties and in which (if profest in) the Cause of Christ is sure to suffer reproach." Whether the words "involving a train of unhappy Family affairs" were an allusion to something that had already taken place between the two families or only to the effect such a controversy would be likely to have in the future, it is impossible to say.

Captain Brintnall still refused to state his accusations definitely, but told Mr. Taylor he should decline to vote for the certificate of recommendation. Mr. de Forest, who had already notified his new pastor in New York that he and his wife would join the church before the next Communion Sabbath, was thus in an extremely uncomfortable position and unable to "remove the Stigma."

Mr. Taylor now strenuously urged Mr. de Forest to come to New Haven and adjust the matter by personal interview, adding, "Brother D. S. Gladding also has some complaints against you which he designs to make to the Standing Committee." To

New York this Lockwood answered (on January 26th) that such was his "desire to Seperate from the Church and Bretheren, so long endeared to me by the tenderest ties: in harmony and peace" that he would forthwith go to New Haven. This he shortly afterward did.

New Haven

On his arrival on January 30th, he went immediately to Mr. Gladding, with whom he apparently discussed one of the complaints the latter had against him; namely, the matter of "criminally playing cards in New York." He acknowledged his fault and asked Gladding's forgiveness. Although the latter did not assert that the act had been repeated during the past eight years, he either required something further than a private confession or found amicable adjustment of the other complaints impossible; for he thereupon prepared his "1st Set of Charges agt. L. De Forest," evidently showing his caller what they contained.

1st. A criminal violation of the 4th Commandment in loading a vessel on the Sabbath.

and. A criminal violation of the Sabbath in writing letters of business on that day.

3rd. Presenting a false Manifest of a Vesel's Cargo at the custom house & allso in virtually denying the obbligation of custom house oaths.

4th. Criminally playing at cards in New York.

A day or so later Lockwood wrote Mr. Gladding a letter answering these charges.

New Haven, Feb. 2d, 1816

New Haven

SIR:

In answer to the criminal Charges which you have prefered against me as a Brother in the Church — I answer to the first, that in 1813 I assisted in loading a Ship on Satterday night, for which I supposed I had justifyable grounds, which I have stated to you already & can only say I am sorry they are not Sattisfactory to you. The 2d & 3d Charges I deny.

The 4th charge I confessed, & deeply Sorrowed for, eight years ago to My then Pastor, & to all the Bretheren who knew the fact, & was kind enough to call upon me, and when now brought up anew by you, I again to you alone & in the presence of our Rev. Pastor stated the above facts & beged you to forgive it, & altho you do not pretend it has ever been repeated by me, yet with grief I find you will not forgive the offence.

Yours in Christ.

L. DE FOREST.

This was certainly a good and reasonable letter, but Lockwood, sure that it would avail nothing, and goaded into a retaliatory form of self-defense, himself set about preparing a set of charges against Gladding and sent them to the Committee. They were as follows:—

1st. That when you, two years ago, charged the offences upon me (which you now renew) & heard my explanation of them, that you did not then let me know you was not Satisfied, & give me Oportunity to Satisfy you, or if I would not do that, that you did not then take other Bretheren with you & Call upon me, in pursuance of the Gospel Rule.

New Hones

and. That you have not only (til a recent period) neglected this Christian duty toward me as a Brother, but that you have recently (when Myself & Family were removed without the limits of this Church & I with My Wife, were, in pursuance of our duty as christians & in obedience to a bye law of the Church preparing to disolve our Connection with this, & to put ourselves under the Watch & Care of another church) instead of calling on me, & in my absence, been to several of our Bretheren, & published these Offences to them (& to how many others I know not) to the irreparable injury of My Christian Character & that too (as I have reason to believe) without stating to them the reasons I at the time offered you as my justification.

3rd. That in making your Charges of Criminal Offences against me yesterday — You Manifest, not the forgiving Charitable temper of the Gospel, in that you now persist in charging Me with Criminally Playing at Cards in N. York altho since my arival here, Tuesday, I have to you alone, stated all that then took place, between the Pastor & other Bretheren who called on me myself, and to you alone & also in the presence of our Rev. Pastor, acknowledged that fault & with humility & sincerity beged your forgiveness of it — altho you do not pretend that for eight years past it has ever been repeated in me. This unforgiving temper I conceive to be at variance with the whole tenor of the Gospel & in direct violation of the rule, given us by our Blessed Saviour Himself.

The same day Mr. de Forest also had a meeting at Captain Goodrich's house with Mr. Bishop and

Mr. Marshall (the Collector and Deputy Collector New Haven of the Port of New Haven) and Captain Truman, regarding their recollections in the matter of the "false manifest"; and it became evident that the testimony which the two former gentlemen were prepared to offer would entirely disprove the statements in support of Mr. Gladding's charge, to be made by Captain Truman.

Whether Gladding was informed of this conference is not known; if so, he either did not consider the testimony of Mr. Bishop and Mr. Marshall important or else he was from the first determined that official action should be taken; for he insisted that the whole set of charges should be officially presented, and that same evening de Forest appeared, with whatever documents he could collect, before the "Standing Committee" of five church members. He also presented his own set of charges against Gladding.

After taking nearly a week to come to a decision, the Committee brought in its reports. With regard to de Forest's charges, they said that on the first two — namely, that Gladding had not two years ago charged the offences upon de Forest and that he had published the offences without giving de Forest's explanations — Gladding acknowledged guilt; with regard to the third charge—that Gladding had been unforgiving about the matters - they saw nothing worthy of censure.

New Haven

As to the accusations against de Forest, the Committee read to him on February 8th the following report, but did not give him a copy of it. We give this document in full, largely because of its historic value as presenting a picture, but also because it prepares the reader's mind for the discussion of so long and dry a question.

Copy of Report of Committee (on my trial)

The Crimes Charged against Mr. Deforest are, presenting a false manifest of a Cargo at the Custom house; virtually denying the obligation of Custom house oaths, breach of the Sabbath, and playing at cards in New York.

In support of the first charge Capt. Truman is the only Witness. He testifies, that the manifest, which he says Mr. Deforest made out undervalued the cargo, in all other respects it was correct. We do not see any criminality in this transaction if all took place just as Capt. Truman states it. Two men, both judicious and both honest might and not improbably would differ in their estimate of the value of a cargo. A valuation might indeed be so far from just, as to make it apparent that there was either gross negligence or actual dishonesty. We are not informed how great the difference was in this case, between Capt. Truman and Mr. Deforest, and we cannot presume that it was so great as to shew that Mr. Deforest acted dishonestly. Nor can we find any motive to dishonesty; nothing could be gained or lost by any body by undervalueing this cargo. It would be no object to reduce the bond, which was to be given, to a smaller sum, unless there was an intention

to carry the cargo to a Brittish port, by which the New Haven panalty would be forfeited. Capt. Truman who was the Master of the Vessel, testifies, that there was no such intention, and of course it must have been matter of entire indifference to Mr. Deforest whether the bond were in a greater or less sum. We can therefore find no cause to suspect Mr. Deforest of any fraudulent or dishonest intention in the matter of the manifest.

The charge of denying the obligation of Custom house oaths is of a most serious character; such oaths have the same solemnity, the same obligation, as oaths elsewhere. To deny the obligation of oaths is scarcely less criminal and evinces scarcely less depravity than perjury itself; and the man who does the one cannot be expected to stop short of the other, whenever there exists a temptation to commit it. Capt. Truman, who is the only witness to this Charge and who, in our esteem stands far above even the suspicion of falsehood or intentional misrepresentation, testifies that in March, 1809, at the Custom house in the presence of the Collector and Deputy Collector, Mr. Deforest said to him that he would not give a straw for a Master of a Vessel who would mind a custom house oath. He testifies that it was audibly spoken, and in consequence of his refusing to make oath to the manifest made out by Mr. Deforest because the cargo or some part of it was undervalued.

We enter upon the consideration of this part of the case with seriousness and anxiety to find the truth. which so weighty a matter is calculated to inspire. If Capt. Truman could not misremember the words which were used, and could not have misunderstood the

New Haven meaning of what was said we must believe Mr. Deforest guilty of the crime laid to his charge. It is no reproach to Capt. Truman to suppose that after the lapse of nearly seven years he may not remember the words used by Mr. Deforest or that he may have misapprehended his meaning. We believe that one or the other or both these things are the fact. There was doubtless a difference of opinion between Capt. Truman and Mr. Deforest respecting the value of the Cargo in question as it stood in the manifest. It appears by the testimony before us, that no great exactness is usually aimed at in valueing cargoes in the manifest. The object of this valuation is the information of the Government of the United States as to the value of the exports of the Country. A valuation sufficiently accurate for this object is all that is understood to be required. In these circumstances it is not an improbable fact that Mr. Deforest thought Capt. Truman unnecessarily exact and scrupleous, and was led by this exactness and over scrupleousness, as he esteemed it to utter expressions concerning this conduct of Capt. Truman, which he understood to refer to the solemnity of an oath, and which made upon his mind an impression that Mr. Deforest had reproached him for his conduct in manifesting a just regard for the obligations of an oath.

> Several circumstances concur to convince the mind that Mr. Deforest did not use the language imputed to him. Although there is reason to fear that many pay little or no regard to custom house oaths, yet the infamy which attaches to such as are known to disregard them, is so great, that it is in no small degree incredible, that one who values a reputation for integrity, should

affirm, that in his opinion there is no crime in violating New Haven them. It is still more extraordinary that Mr. Deforest should utter such a sentiment in the custom house where he was almost daily doing business as a merchant, and in the hearing of the Collector and Deputy Collector; the language was addressed to Capt. Truman, a member of the same church, and at the moment when he was manifesting his scrupleous regard to truth, in that to which he was to make oath, with what abhorrence Capt. Truman would regard his conduct he would not be ignorant. It is difficult to believe that Mr. Deforest, unless under the influence of extreme irritation, which does not appear to have been the case with him, could have failed to be restrained by these considerations, from making the declarations laid to his charge.

We cannot but express our unfeigned regret that the investigation of this matter had not been made at an earlier period, when the transaction was recent and when the truth might have been arrived at with far more certainty than it now can. But this is not the sole nor the chief cause of regret, that the faults of Christian Bretheren should be permitted to remain long unnoticed. In such a case, the transgressor often remains impenitent and always liable to be cut off in his sin. The Church is reproached, and polluted Christians fail to shew their hatred of sin so long as they tolerate the practice of it in any other members; and Christ is wounded in the house of his friends.

The breaches of Sabbath charged upon Mr. Deforest are writing letters of business, and loading a vessel upon that day. With respect to the first of these breaches it was testified by Capt. Goodrich and ad-

New Haven mitted by Mr. Deforest that he had in one instance written a letter of business upon the Sabbath in a case of urgent necessity; what that occasion was they were neither of them able to recollect. It was also admitted by Mr. Deforest that he might have written other letters of business upon the Sabbath, but remembered none. In such cases if they existed there was always as he said a necessity which he thought justified him in doing it. As there may exist cases of necessity in which it is justifiable to write letters of business upon the Sabbath, the evidence before us and which we have detailed, does not seem to warrant us in saving that the instance confessed by Mr. Deforest was of this character. The case supposed by Mr. Deforest of news of the arrival of a vessel upon which insurance had been ordered at a distant place but not made, and to prevent the effecting of which a letter must be written upon the Sabbath, is not in our view a case of necessity which will justify the letter. There would be no actual loss of property in this case. As much as would be lost by one would be gained by another; that the sum is great can make no difference. The admission of the principle of the supposed case, would justify all manner of trafficking upon the Sabbath which would yield a profit to either party concerned in it. It is lawfull to labour upon the Sabbath to 'save property from destruction or unusual damage, and for no other purpose.

> As to the breach of Sabbath in loading a vessel upon that day, it appears that inteligence was received from Washington, and believed, on Saturday, that an act had passed the house of Representatives, laying an embargo which was expected to become a law and

reach this place by the Monday following. There were New Haven in the hands of Mr. De Forest and his partner, 1000 or 1200 barrels of flour owned in New York. This flour had become a little sour and on that account unsaleable in the American market. It would continue to become worse the longer it was kept should the expected embargo take place and the flour remain here an almost entire loss of it was expected or strongly apprehended. Abroad the flour although damaged, would find a market. In these circumstances a shipment of this flour was commenced Saturday afternoon, and in this business Mr. Deforest continued engaged till one or two oclock in the morning of the Sabbath. The shipment of this flour in these circumstances does not appear to us to be a work of necessity which it is lawfull to do upon the Sabbath and that in doing it Mr. Deforest violated the Sabbath.

We are unwilling to refrain on this occasion to express our regret that any who profess to consider Saturday evening as a part of the Sabbath should customarily employ any part of that evening in secular business. if that evening belongs to the Sabbath it is assumed as any other part of the day and can no more be violated with impunity.

The fact and the criminality of playing at Cards in New York are confessed by Mr. Deforest. We are of opinion that the members of the Church to whom this conduct was known were guilty of a neglect of duty in permitting it to remain in a state of so much silence till this late period. The crime required a publick acknowledgement from Mr. Deforest. But from the silence of his Bretheren he had reason to suppose that no other sattisfaction was required than what he had given.

New Haven There is no suspicion that the offence has been repeated.

Reformation which is a primary object of the discipline of the Church seems to have been voluntarily accomplished by the offender himself. He has confessed his fault to his accusor and to us, and expressed his sorrow. He signifies his willingness to do the same to others who are not already sattisfied. Many years have elapsed since this transaction was extensively known in the Church, and Mr. Deforest has been called to no public account till this time. The honor of the Church seems to forbid that an offence which has remained so long unnoticed should be called again to remembrance.

In these circumstances it appears to us unreasonable to call Mr. Deforest to any further account for this offence. We lament that to publish one to another the misconduct of our Bretheren has so much prevailed and been so long tolerated in this Church. It is an unscriptural practice against the Law of Love and mischievous to the peace, unity and honor of the Church.

Of the Charges of presenting a false manifest to the Custom house, of virtually denying the obligation of Custom house oaths, and of breaking the Sabbath by writing letters of business upon that day, we find Mr. Deforest not guilty. Respecting the Charge of playing at Cards we find that he has made all the sattisfaction that can at this late period be required of him. Of breaking the Sabbath by loading a vessel on Saturday night till one or two oclock in the morning of the Sabbath we find that he is guilty. This offence having been committed in the view of the publick requires from Mr. Deforest a publick acknowledgement of it

The Church Trial

and a publick expression of his sorrow for it before New Haven the Church of which he is a member.

New Haven, February 9th, 1816.

SAMUEL DARLING.
DYER WHITE.
SCOVIL HINMAN.
NATHAN WHITING.
STEPHEN TWINING.

Thus, to summarize briefly the report of the Committee, Mr. de Forest was found "not guilty" respecting the false manifest, the Custom House oath, and the writing of business letters on the Sabbath. Respecting the card-playing, they found that no further satisfaction was necessary at this late date. With reference to the loading of the vessel on the Sabbath they found him guilty and they decided, "This offence having been committed in the view of the publick requires from Mr. Deforest a publick acknowledgement of it and a publick expression of his sorrow for it before the Church of which he is a member."

A few facts with regard to "loading a ship on the Sabbath" and "playing cards" may not be amiss at this point in the narrative. With reference to the former charge, the following statements were unchallenged. Goodrich & De Forest had had in store shortly before the breaking out of the War of 1812 about twelve hundred barrels of flour belonging to a New York house. On a certain Saturday morning

New Haven a partner in this house arrived by "express" in New Haven, bringing the news that an embargo act had passed the lower house of Congress and was expected to pass the Senate immediately, so that the news would probably reach New Haven by the following Monday. He therefore directed Goodrich & De Forest to charter a vessel and get the flour off before that time if possible. The members of the firm immediately secured a Spanish vessel, the only one available which was large enough, but it was afternoon before the price was arranged and they could begin the loading. They employed all the men and carts they could get, a sloop, and two or three scows, and by about ten o'clock that evening all the barrels were removed from the store; but the laborers were still to be paid off, and it was two o'clock on Sunday morning before the partners were able to leave for home. The flour was at this time a little sour and almost unsalable in New Haven, while it could be sold at a reduced rate elsewhere. Had the embargo passed before the removal of the flour, a total loss would probably have ensued. As the embargo did not pass, the flour was finally returned to the care of Goodrich & De Forest, who made no charge whatever to the owners for all their trouble.

> With regard to the charge of "playing cards," the facts were that in 1807, nine years before Mr. de Forest's prosecution, he and a friend, Captain Gad Peck, boarded a packet in New York which was com-

manded by a mutual friend, Captain Lines. Finding New Haven the company engaged in a game of "Loo" and being invited to do so, they joined in the game. Mr. Stuart, Lockwood's pastor in New Haven at that time, speaking to him about it later, found him at first inclined to justify himself, saying that Captain Lines, whom he believed to be a very good man, often played at "Loo." Later, however, he made an ample and, to his pastor, perfectly satisfactory confession of his guilt. He also made the same acknowledgment of guilt and repentance to any who charged him with the sin.

On hearing the Committee's report read, Mr. de Forest discovered that it included only part of the testimony that had been given at the hearing. To this partial inclusion he took vigorous exception and the next day wrote a "Protest" about the matter to the members of the Committee. Captain Truman's testimony was directly contrary to his own remembrance and to the recollections of other witnesses: and while the Committee acquitted de Forest, thus discrediting Truman's accuracy, they gave much space in the report to a vindication of Truman's character for integrity. This also was a special grievance to Mr. de Forest, as he did not consider such a vindication germane to the subject under discussion.

Had he omitted any comment and rested with his technical objections to the omission of testimony,

New Haves which were evidently within his right, much future trouble might have been avoided. But, stung by what he considered the flagrant injustice done him and doubtless rendered somewhat intolerant by the irregular matter included in the report, he went on to dictate a policy of procedure, the rebuke of which was most likely ill received. Certainly somewhere at this point new fuel was added to the flame.

> The pastor now drew up the following "Proposed Confession" on the subject of the breach of the Sabbath, which he said would be acceptable to the Committee: "With respect to the charge of violating the Sabbath in loading a ship I say, that at the time of that transaction I was fully satisfied in my own conscience that I was doing what was lawful & right for me to do at t time & under t circumstances as above related and that I have ever since been of t same opinion. This charge, however, having been lately referred to five brethren in whose wisdom & piety I have great confidence, & as I formed my judgment of the transaction under circumstances perhaps not the most favorable to a correct judgment, I cheerfully acknowledge that I may have erred in that opinion and that as the above five bretheren are of opinion that I did err, I ought to yield my opinion to theirs. So far, therefore, as I may have offended any of my brethren in this trans-

¹ In this quotation "t" of course represents the word "the."

action or wounded t Cause of Christ by what is New Haven deemed a mistaken apprehension of my duty at t time. I do before God & this church deeply regret that I have done so."

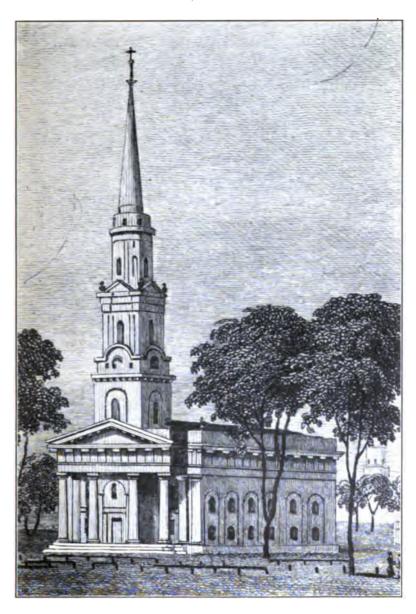
To this Mr. de Forest answered: "I do not object to making the Confession drawn up by Mr. Taylor as a Sattisfactory compliance with the decision of the Committee on the Subject of Breach of Sabbath in loading a Ship under the circumstances, as proposed by him."

In the meantime the three accusers had conferred and had formulated a set of objections of their own. Whether they were dissatisfied with the original report of the Committee, as lacking in the discipline necessary to Mr. de Forest's spiritual welfare, or were irritated by the attitude manifested in his protest and therefore thought the confession drawn up by Mr. Taylor too lenient in form, it is impossible to state; but they pressed the matter of a public confession on the subject of the playing of cards, and on February 10th proposed through Mr. Taylor and Nathan Whiting, the latter a member of the Standing Committee, that Mr. de Forest "would consent to make a Publick Confession for Playing Cards in New York and consent to have the Report of the Committee of his late trial lodged in the hands of Mr. Taylor and he to have no copy of it, that in that case they would consent to accept such Confession as Mr. Taylor showed them on the subject of

New Haven Loading a ship Saturday night, and bury all differences."

> Mr. de Forest now felt that he and his affairs would be better off in the hands of the Church. He therefore made a counter proposal; namely, that if the Committee would let him have a copy of the report, he would be willing to abide by the decision of the Church as to whether a confession about playing cards was necessary or not. The accusers, undoubtedly fearing that he might use it to prolong the contention and that the discussions would be without end, were not willing that he should have this copy; and he naturally refused to accede to the humiliating condition of a public confession of playing cards, as it had not been demanded by the Committee, and would not even purchase for him the copy of their report, the attainment of which had now become the object of many of his proposals.

> As the accusers were not willing to abide by the report of the Committee, a church trial, involving all the questions at issue, was decided upon. On February 10th Mr. de Forest received notice from the pastor through Mr. Gladding that "a Church meeting would be warned from the desk the next day" (Sunday), and on Monday he was served with copies of the two sets of charges — those made by D. S. Gladding and by Captain Brintnall. In addition, that same afternoon a church committee waited on him and gave him formal notice that



CENTRE CHURCH, NEW HAVEN

From an engraving by Fenner, Sears & Co., in Library of Yale University.

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charges had been preferred against him and that he New Homen was required to come before the Church and answer them. Accordingly, that night, February 12th, he "appeared before the Church."

At the beginning of the trial an astonishing discovery was made. Mr. Gladding's set of charges was not to be found, and there was therefore no document of his on which to try the accused. Mr. de Forest lent his own copy, which, having been sent to him in a personal letter, was afterward returned to him. One cannot help speculating on the prolonged contention that might have been avoided and the peace to the church and its members that might have been preserved had Mr. de Forest's own copy been lost likewise. Commenting in 1827 on the absence of these charges Lockwood, in a Memorial presented by him to the church, said: "No original charges from Gladding were then before the Church; nor to this day do any charges whatever appear on the files of the Church against me."

The charges of Mr. Gladding were as follows:—

Charge 1. — I think it from three to four years since Capt. Daniel Truman told me that, some time previous to that time Mr. De Forest wrote a wrong or false manifest of a vessel's cargo, at the Custom-house, for him to sign.

2. That on his objecting to it, saying it was wrong and he would not make oath to it, he (Mr. De Forest) said he would not give a fig or a straw for a master of a vessel who cared anything for a custom-house oath,

Lockwood de Forest

New Haven and that this was spoken in the presence of four men.

- 3. Another offence I would state, is his loading a ship on the Sabbath.
- 4. He (De Forest) then told me that he had frequently wrote letters of business on that day.
- 5. I think I told him I had heard he had posted books on the Sabbath.
- 6. He also told Selah Barnes he should think it his duty to ride all day on the Sabbath, if he were sure to make a thousand dollars by it.
- 7. He has also been guilty of playing cards in New York.

Captain Brintnall's charges consist of three, and are in the following words:—

Mr. Lockwood De Forest:-

As you insist on my charging you in writing, which I bring against you before the Church as follows:

Charge 1. — Playing cards in New York.

- 2. For having charged me with having, in an unchristian manner taken from you your Christian character.
- 3. For saying that, in certain cases which you mentioned, it would be your duty to steal for your children or family.

Lockwood's former partner, Captain Goodrich, appeared in his behalf; otherwise the testimony was essentially that already presented to the Committee. To use the defendant's own words as given in the already mentioned Memorial: "The result of the trial was, an acquittal on all charges preferred Non Boom against me. And after my accusers, and the witnesses against me, had withdrawn, the Church unanimously (as I was told) voted me a dismission and recommendation."

The Church did indeed vote that each charge was "not substantiated" except in the matter of playing cards. Here there was a division of opinion as to whether the offence demanded a public confession or not. Some believed that so long a time had elapsed since the offence had been committed that a public penance was unnecessary, especially as Mr. de Forest appeared willing to confess the "crime" to any who should give him the opportunity. On the other hand, it was thought that as the crime was publicly known, no evidence of repentance could be furnished without a public confession. The church vote on this question was evenly divided — Yeas 14. Navs 14. Nevertheless, the Church voted to give the certificate of recommendation.

Early the next morning Mr. de Forest called on Mr. Taylor and obtained the certificate, but at noon received a letter from him asking for its return, the reason given being that Captain Brintnall had lodged a "remonstrance" against the action of the Church and wished a new meeting called. This was the last straw. Sorely tried patience could endure no more. Mr. de Forest apparently called on Mr. Taylor, accompanied by his friend, Amariah Lucas,

Lockwood de Forest

New Haven as a witness, and handed the clergyman the following note:

REV. N. TAYLOR.

DEAR SIR

I request of you a Copy of the vote of the Church on the subject of my own & my Wife's Dismission and recommendation passed by the Church.

> Yours affectionately. LOCKWOOD DE FOREST.

This request Mr. Taylor denied, Mr. Lucas transcribing the fact as follows: -

Mr. Taylor refuses to give any Copy of the above other than the Certificate of recommendation given him and his Wife to another Church.

Present, Amariah Lucas.

Lockwood then asked for a copy of the remonstrance, which was also refused. This fact, too, was faithfully noted down. At this point Mr. Taylor's patience ebbed. He was much offended at having his words recorded under his very eyes and declared that he despised such lawyer-like proceedings. His caller, however, persisted, saying that he had too often been misrepresented. Thereupon, with the relationship between the two men thoroughly strained. he took his departure.

He had hardly reached his lodgings before he received another letter from Mr. Taylor, requesting the return of the certificate. He stood his ground, however, and at 6 P.M. replied that duty to his

family required that he should retain the document New Haven but that he should make no use of it until this unhappy business was settled. At 7 P.M. Mr. Taylor wrote that this would be entirely satisfactory.

Evidently the high-water mark of contention had been reached, and during the night a policy of pacification, as swift as it was complete, seems to have become acceptable to all. The next morning (February 14th) Taylor notified de Forest that the remonstrance had been withdrawn and that Brintnall authorized him to say that nothing but a sense of duty had led him to hand it in, that he had no personal feeling against de Forest to gratify by this transaction, that he had the welfare of the church as well as de Forest's own at heart, and that he was unwilling on more reflection to hazard the peace of the church by any further prosecution of the matter.

With humility born of experience, de Forest sent best wishes to Brintnall for his peace and happiness, and added: "So far as I have not by all the means in my power strove to prevent the Melancholy consequences it is my sin, & I beg you & all my Christian Friends to pardon my neglect."

Trusting that an end had now come to the whole unhappy business, he wrote asking for a short open letter to his new pastor explaining the situation, adding a pathetic postscript, which cannot surprise one, considering all he had been through: "My strength is exhausted or would gladly call and see

New Haven you." Concerning the termination of this strenuous New Haven visit, he says: "Indulging the pleasing hope that my sufferings in this distressing affair were now at an end. I returned to my anxious and distressed family."

> To Lockwood's note Mr. Taylor replied the next day, saying that the instrument spoke for itself and that any further words would only diminish the weight of it. He then added the following letter. which we can but consider awful as well as scathing and which we quote at length, as we do a later letter, because it gives an excellent idea of the morbid and almost fanatical religious tenets of the time, as well as of the vehement personal exhortations men were in those days accustomed to send to each other.

> > New Haven, Feb. 15th, 1815.

Mr. Lockwood De Forest.

DEAR SIR: -

... I sought an opportunity to converse with you before you left town. I felt & still feel that I owe you a solemn & an important duty.

Concerning the transaction of loading the ship on the sabbath I wish to submit to you three questions; not for an answer to be given to me but to your own conscience.

Was you not lead to load that vessel merely from the principle of gain? Has not this transaction been viewed by many of your brethren as a criminal violation of the sabbath, and the cause of Christ been wounded by it? Would not the spirit of a disciple of Jesus not only prompt you to consent, but make you New Haven anxious to wipe away such reproach at least in the manner proposed by Mr. Whiting & myself?

That the transaction in New York demanded a public confession I have no doubt. My reasons for this opinion are the following; I. It was a crime by your own acknowledgement. 2. It has long been known publicly and been the occasion of reproach on your own character, and also on the honor of the Church. 3. The private confessions, which you have made amount to nothing. They do not, they cannot cover the wound. In cases like this, a public confession is indispensable; so much so that no evidence of repentance is or can be given of repentance, until such confession is made. While this is not done, the very condition of forgiveness is not complied with. While there is a reluctance to do it, you are not authorised yourself to think you have repented of this fault; you have decisive proof that you love your own reputation better than the cause of Christ; while this reluctance is manifested your brethren have no evidence of your repentance; and the assertion that the omniscient eye of God has never seen a contrite heart in you for this offence, is fully warranted. God himself has demanded a public confession in such cases as the only satisfactory evidence of repentance, and therefore no such evidence can exist even to your own mind till such a confession is made. And let this principle, a principle adopted in every evangelical & fruitful Church on earth, I say, let this principle be abandoned, and another public confession can never be required in the Christian Church. 4. A disinterested & proper regard to your own character requires this confession. I know it is thought dis-

New Haven graceful, it is viewed as fixing a stigma on the character to make such confession. But is it so? Is it disgraceful to confess our faults? Did this ever degrade a Christian even in the eye of the world? Can it be supposed that Christ has required that of his followers which is really disgraceful? I am aware to have committed the fault is disgraceful. And this disgrace will remain upon you till it is wiped away by a confession. So far then will such a confession be from affixing a blot on your character, that no act of your life would afford such decisive testimony of your piety, your humility, your likeness to Christ, as this act. Not one in the Church nor out of the Church but would irresistibly regard it in this manner. I am persuaded (and I speak with the frankness which love to your best good only could inspire) that your character will actually suffer in the estimation of many of the most worthy members of the church, not excepting many of those who voted not to require this of you, till such a confession is made.

> 5. The church were exactly divided in opinion on this question. I do not say that the Church have required of you a confession. They have voted you a dismission. Whether consistently or not, I do not decide. But where this fact is known it is easy to see that the weight of such a certificate must be greatly impaired in the opinion of many. But the question which I ask here is, how would the full exercise of the Christian temper lead you to act? Would it be unlawful in such a case to make a confession? Would it not show a Christian spirit of conciliation which you cannot shew in any other way? I ask no reply to be made to me. I leave you to answer these inquiries to yourself, & to God.

6. A sin like this, while unrepented of, will forever New Haven mar your peace. You will not know what it is to go to your God & Saviour with humble confession in prayer, & what it is to enjoy the light of his countenance. Tho you are a child of God I cannot believe that you can enjoy the witness of his spirit. You at best will be feeble fluctuating & insufficient to support you under the trials of life & in the prospect of death. It is my unwavering opinion, that should you enter eternity without making this confession, that you will bear that sin up to the bar of Christ where it will become a swift witness to testify that you have repented of no sin whatever. . . .

And now my dear Brother I entreat [you] to lay these things to heart, I enjoin it upon you to keep them wholly to yourself. I shall consider it a breach of trust if you do not. I have said these things to you, because I feel that my Master requires it at my hands. I fear you will neglect what I deem your indispensable duty. Such neglect I am persuaded will plant your dying pillow with thorns, & if persevered in will be produced on the final day, as the ground of evidence of that awful declaration of the Judge, I never knew you. But you will perhaps ask, is this acting the part of friendship? Yes, if I act the part of a Christian or a minister of Christ. I know not how I could act the part of Christian friendship & say less than I have said. It has cost me an agony to write this. If I lose your friendship, I have done what in me lies to prevent the loss of your soul. The judgment day will decide whether I have treated you kindly or not. Take then I beseech you the Gospel of Jesus for your guide. Lay aside every mistaken regard to reputation in this world, and ask only

New Haven what is duty. That God will lead you to perform it is the sincere prayer of your affectionate friend & brother in the Lord. . . .

N. W. TAYLOR.

New York

The letter from Lockwood's pastor followed him to New York, but, in accordance with Mr. Taylor's request, he seems to have spoken of it to no one.

After returning to New York, he and his wife fulfilled their intention of joining Mr. Rowan's church: but even after this had been accomplished, Lockwood de Forest found himself unable to refrain from brooding over the fact that he was denied copies of the church records and over the injustice, as he thought, of some of the decisions of the Church. In April he was once more in New Haven and wrote a letter to Mr. Taylor, again asking for the desired copies. Mr. Taylor refused on the ground that "an improper use might be made of such copies."

In May he wrote again, begging that the records be so amended as to read simply, "Guilty or Not Guilty"—"Proved or Not Proved,"—or else that all the testimony be detailed. His former pastor in a final refusal said, "I made the record knowing I was responsible to God for it. If it be wrong, it will be corrected hereafter by that made in heaven," and from the depths of his sorely tried patience, added, "I will only request you to trouble me with as few communications on this subject as may be."

Thus the matter remained until the following New York September, when Mr. de Forest prepared a "Memorial to the first Church in New Haven." In this paper he sent transcripts of all the letters and papers in his possession concerning the whole unhappy affair and asked that copies be sent to him of the various votes, of Captain Brintnall's remonstrance, etc., but especially of the record of his trial before the church on February 12, 1816.

He also called the attention of the Church to the "rules of discipline" of the Dutch Reformed Church, which, he said, that church claimed had been in practice in the United States since 1619. In speaking of church trials the rules said, "The sum of evidence shall be faithfully minuted. The Sentence shall always be entered at large on the record. And all the Parties shall immediately be allowed Copies of the testimony and Sentence, and of the whole proceedings, if they demand the same."

At the same time he wrote letters to Mr. Taylor and to various of his friends among the church members, bespeaking the serious consideration by the Church of all the questions treated of in the document. Two church meetings were held on the subject and it was finally voted that in all cases of church trials "a copy of the record of such trial shall, if requested, be given to the person tried." Accordingly Mr. de Forest received a copy of the church record of his trial, but the other copies, of

Lockwood de Forest

New York votes, etc., were refused. Meanwhile he had written the following letter to his former pastor, Rev. Moses Stuart:—

Oct. 27th, 1816.

Events have taken place in relation to my having played loo at New York in the year 1807 when a member of the Church of which you were Pastor, deeply interesting to my own Character, to the cause of truth & the honor of religion. The regard due to all these considerations impel me to request from you a short statement of the Manner in which you discharged your duty to me, on that lamented Occasion, the reception by me of your kind & brotherly reproof and how the Subject was then disposed of.

The latter sent him a very kindly and considerate answer on the subject, saying that he had thought at the time that Mr. de Forest's confession of his fault and expression of contrition were amply sufficient. He then proceeded to give him a good deal of excellent advice — advice which Lockwood surely needed and by which it is to be hoped he profited.

Andover, Dec. 14, 1816.

DEAR SIR:

I received your letter to me in N. York at too late an hour to answer it there, as I left that place early on Monday morning. At New Haven I conversed with Mr. Taylor & with some of the Chh. on the subject of the letter. I have no doubt, after hearing all that has been said on both sides, that there has been some real misunderstanding between both parties; on the one

side, as to the exact state of facts; & on the other, as New York to the views & motives of the Chh.

When the business was first stated to me, my recollections of it were faint and indistinct, owing to the lapse of time, & to the fact that I had supposed the matter was entirely at an end. Subsequent conversations have revived my recollections, and I will now state them so far as I can recal them.

I remember well, when I first stated to you the business of playing Loo at N. York, that Capt. Brintnall was present. It was near his house or shop. When first stated, you seem to hesitate whether you had done wrong, & alleged that Capt. L. who you believed was a very good man, often played at Loo. If I recollect well, we parted at that time, without obtaining a satisfactory answer from you. I knew it was common for men to justify things at first, on being charged with them, which a little time for reflection would lead them to condemn, & presumed this would be the fact with you. Thus it proved to be. The next time I saw you, you made an ample, & to me a satisfactory confession of your fault, & expressed your regret that you should have given occasion to the enemies of religion to speak evil of it.

I then told you that you must say to other members of the Chh. who were acquainted with the affair, what you had said to me; which if you did, I doubted not the affair would stop there. I was knowing at the time to your having done this to some. I remember Mr. Spring in particular. How far you went I know not. I did suppose at that time, that the whole business had been settled in the method proposed. But near the time when I left New Haven to come here, Mr. I. Atwater

New York told me that matter was not vet settled. I made answer, that I had supposed it to be; & that if it were not, it ought to be without delay; that the brethren aggrieved ought to go to you & tell you their grievances & give you an opportunity to make your confession; that you could not tell how extensively the matter was known unless they did so; that it was clearly your duty to go & make confession where you knew that they were acquainted with your fault. & as clear, that those who knew it, ought to complain to you. I believe, that in this conversation, I made use of the expression, that "the brethren of the Chh. who were unsatisfied ought to discipline you," by which I meant, & then supposed I was understood to mean, that they should go & tell you your fault, as prescribed in the gospel, & see whether you would give them proper satisfaction.

> This is all I recollect or know of the matter from that day to this, except having heard that there was a difficulty between you & the Chh. Mr. Taylor, I believe, once mentioned it to me. The particulars I never knew before lately.

> And now, my dear Sir, without partiality, in review of all which I have seen & heard, you will permit me to say, that in this affair, I think you are much too warm. Your passions seem to be too much enlisted. I know that it is delicate; that it cuts deep. But this is no good reason for charging your brethren with improper motives, & with a design to oppress & degrade you. I have not a question, that they have acted conscientiously in the matter, though I do believe that they have been mistaken in their views of it. I am persuaded that the manner in which you have sometimes conversed with them, has needlessly provoked them; that you have

not exercised that patience, nor at all times that humil- New York ity, which would have conciliated & softened. I think. unless I am mistaken in you, that you will readily acknowledge this. If so, & if it be wrong to have done thus, why not say it to them, & then leave it to them to express their satisfaction, & to do away your difficulties. This is the method of the gospel. Violence, or threats are not the proper method.

You will say that I bear hard upon you here. A little time for reflection, however, with prayer & selfexamination will justify me entirely to your conscience, I do not doubt. I do believe, your manner of treating the subject has been wanting in softness & humility; while I still think, that a demand of a public trial, before the Chh. or a renewal of the matter, in the shape of direct discipline by the Chh. after so long a period, was the result of incorrect views with regard to the state of the whole business. If you, indeed, refused to give proper satisfaction to any individual, who had not been before satisfied, then it might give a different face to the thing. But I should think that an individual, who had put off requesting satisfaction for so long a period, ought to be disciplined for negligence & unfaithfulness. No complaint is allowed, in the Presbyterian chh. after the fact has been known three years. There ought to be some limits for the peace of the chh. But this ought not to satisfy the individual who has done wrong. He should always make reparation quickly, & make it as ample as the wrong is.

I am satisfied that you will not have peace, until this matter is settled. I advise to a settlement without delay. Do all that your conscience tells you in the hour of retirement & self examination, you ought to do; & your

Lockwood de Forest

New York brethren who have had mistaken views, & been aggrieved, I am sure will be reconciled. If not, let not the fault be yours.

You have liberty to make what use of this letter you please, only provided that the whole of it shall go together, so that no *extracts* may seem to say what the whole letter does not.

My apology for not writing sooner was the utter impossibility of doing it before on the ground of my vocations. I hope most sincerely that this business will come to an immediate close. Nothing will now prevent, but an improper temper on one, or both sides; at least, if the statement which I have made is correct, & is believed. It is possible that there may be some error in it, but it is made conscientiously & according to the best of my recollection.

Wishing you & yours, most sincerely, both temporal & eternal blessings, I remain dear Sir,

Your friend & obedt. Sert.

Moses Stuart.

There is no doubt that Lockwood de Forest's manner of treating the subject had been "wanting in softness and humility," and neither is there any doubt that his former pastor was right in saying, "I am satisfied that you will not have peace until this matter is settled"; but poor Lockwood was so thoroughly aroused and indignant that he could not make up his mind to settle the matter on the terms (unjust as he considered them) demanded by his accusers.

After this there was a lull for a number of years,

although the matter rankled continually in Mr. de New York Forest's heart, and his desire for justice was not appeased, only held in abevance. In 1827, eleven years after the church trial, the Rev. Leonard Bacon being then pastor of the First Church, Lockwood felt that this new and unbiassed mind would judge the whole matter impartially and that he might now succeed in having the much-desired alterations made in the record. He prepared a still more elaborate Memorial and sent it to the First Church. This is a long and most able document, the reasoning very close, and the paper an excellent piece of writing. He rehearses the whole subject in detail, and, taking up each of the nine charges, discusses the testimony produced regarding each one. He then proceeds to criticize the record of the case, subdividing his criticism into five "Principals" and six "Objections," and also pointing out the numerous places where he does not consider that the conclusions were in accordance with the evidence, and asking that even at this late date justice be done him by reconsidering the whole matter.

This Memorial he had printed in pamphlet form for distribution among those who might be interested, and a copy still exists in the library of the New Haven Colony Historical Society.

The Standing Committee to which the document was referred still included three of the five original members; it seems rather surprising that during all

New York these years the question should have been continually placed in the hands of the same men. The report of the Committee was as follows:—

That they have attended to the matter referred to their consideration, & that Mr. De Forest has been before them, and was fully heard on his Memorial. The Committee think it not expedient, after so many years as have elapsed since the proceedings in the case of Mr. De Forest to alter the record of those proceedings, unless some important interest of truth or justice manifestly requires it. They submit to the consideration of the Church whether any such interest exists in the case in question. On this point the Committee are divided in their opinion.

Arguments and testimony are no necessary & usually no very important part of the record of a case. If given briefly, the record is liable to the objection, actually made in the Memorial before us, of presenting an imperfect view of the case, and of leading to inferences which a full and detailed statement would preclude. Such a statement would have extended the record, in this case, to a very inconvenient length, and imposed upon the recorder a labour, which could not be reasonably expected or required of him. The record in question contains a brief and somewhat incomplete statement of the arguments, and testimony exhibited on the trial. If the Church should think proper to alter this record, the Committee are unanimous in the opinion that the only alteration necessary or proper to be made, respects this statement of the arguments & testimony, and a vote subsequently passed explanatory of a part of the record; and accordingly they recommend that, if

anything is done, all which follows the words "the year New York 1800" to the words "with respect to the third charge"; all of which follows the words "the crime" to the words "after investigating"; all of which follows the words "upon them" to the words "the Church voted"; and all that follows the words "second charge" to the words "church voted"; & the vote subsequently passed by the Church explanatory of the record of part of the proceedings, Feb. 12, 1816, be expunged from the record, and that then be added after the words "to decide upon them" the words "with respect to the first charge." All of which is respectfully submitted.

Jan. 19, 1827.

S. Twining. Standing Committee. N. WHITING. Scovil HINMAN.

A true copy. L. BACON. Jan. 26, 1827.

The original record of the church trial is now given with the addition of the vote taken a year later (about January 13, 1817). The curtailed record is also shown and it will thus be seen that the Committee followed literally one of Mr. de Forest's suggestions and answered each of the only three charges mentioned, by simply stating, "Proved" or "Not Proved."

Copy of the record made by Mr. Taylor of My trial before the Church.

Feby. 12, 1816. The Church met by motion from the Pastor. Complaint was brought against Lockwood

New York DeForest a member of this Church, 1st for having Virtually denied the Obligation of Custom House Oaths. 2d for having criminally Violated the Sabbath in loading a Vessel on that day, & 3d for having played at cards at New York in the year 1809.

> With respect to the first Charge it was testified by One Witness that Mr. De Forest said at the Custom house (when the Witness refused to sign a Manifest of a Vessels cargo because he considered it as not containing a true & just account of said Cargo) that he would not give a fig or a straw, for a man who cared anything for a custom house Oath. Others who were present did not remember to have heard Mr. DeForest say this.

> In loading the Vessel, Mr. DeForest supposed himself justified by the following facts which were proved.

> (Viz.) that the flour with which the Vessel was loaded, was in a degree sour & not saleable in this market, that an embargo law was expected to be in operation before the following Monday, that thus the exportation of the flour would be impracticable and that therefore a great loss would be sustained by keeping the flour on hand, that the flour belonged to a house in New York, and that one of the Owners directed it to be shipped at that time.

> With respect to the third charge, he acknowledged the fact & the crime, and said that he had always done so to those bretheren who had ever said any thing to him on the Subject & particularly to the former pastor of the Church. It was testified by One Witness who heard the conversation with the former Pastor, that Mr. De Forest made no acknowledgement to him, but attempted to justify his conduct and it did not appear

that he had done so to any one until within a few days New York previous to this meeting. After investigating these charges the Church proceeded to decide on them. As there was but one Witness to support the first charge it was said that it could not be considered as proved. It was said however that such were the circumstances which the Witness related that it was reasonable to suppose that he was not mistaken. The Church Voted that this charge was not substantiated.

With respect to the second charge, it was supposed by many of the bretheren, that the Act of loading the Vessel was completely justified by the circumstances and that the Gospel Authorises labour on the Sabbath to prevent the loss of property. Others supposed that this reason could not justify in this instance; for that the labour was not to save property from being providentially lost but merely to gain a higher price for the flour than would probably otherwise be obtained, and that the crime demanded a public confession. The Church Voted that this charge was not substantiated.

The only question concerning the third charge was whether the offence demanded a public confession. It was thought by some that this ought not to be required because so long a time had elapsed since the offence had been committed and because Mr. De Forest now appeared willing to confess the crime to any who should give him an opportunity to do so. On the other hand it was supposed that as the crime was publicly known, no evidence of repentance could be furnished without a public confession. On this question, when the vote was taken the Church was exactly divided in opinion. Yeas 14 Nays 14.

Mr. De Forest having removed to New York, and

Lockwood de Forest

New York having applied for a certificate of recommendation, the Church Voted to grant it and adjourned.

NATH. W. TAYLOR, Pastor.

Attest

The above is a true copy of the record of the Church.

N. W. TAYLOR, Pastor.

New Haven, Jan. 13th, 1817.

Mr. De Forest;

SIR:

The Church [with] which you was formerly connected requested me to communicate to you the following vote passed at their last meeting.

Voted, that this Church in their record of Feby. 12th, 1816, mean not to declare that Mr. De Forest was acquited of the first charge merely on the ground that there was only one witness to support it, but that it is now their opinion, that many, perhaps most of the brethren, while they had perfect confidence in the veracity of the witness, supposed that he did not rightly apprehend the meaning of Mr. De Forest, and that altho Mr. De Forest might have used some such expression as the witness stated, yet that he did not mean by it to deny the obligation of a custom house oath. A true copy.

N. W. TAYLOR, Pastor.

Copy of record as curtailed by vote of January 13, 1827
As it still appears on the "Minutes of the Meetings of
Centre Church."

February 12, 1816. Complaint was brought against Lockwood De Forest a member of this Church: 1st of having Virtually denied the obligation of Custom

house Oaths. 2nd for having criminally Violated the New York Sabbath in loading a Vessel on that day & 3rd for having played at cards at New York in the year 1809. . . .

With respect to the third charge, he acknowledged the fact and the crime. . . . After investigating these charges the Church proceeded to decide upon them. . . . [With respect to the first charge] the Church Voted that this charge was not substantiated.

With respect to the second charge . . . the Church Voted that this charge was not substantiated.

The only question concerning the third charge was whether the offense demanded a public confession. It was thought by some that this ought not to be required because so long a time had elapsed since the offence had been committed and because Mr. De Forest now appeared willing to confess the crime to any who should give him the opportunity to do so. On the other hand it was supposed that as the crime was publicly known, no evidence of repentance could be furnished without a public confession. On this question when I vote was taken the church was exactly divided in opinion -Yeas 14, Nays 14.

The new pastor immediately forwarded the decision to Mr. de Forest and also copies of the less important records -votes, etc. - for which he had asked: but the latter was still unsatisfied. He had been tried on nine charges and of them only three had been mentioned in the record, while he knew that he had in reality been acquitted on all the others. He had offered to make the required public "Confession" regarding the loading of the vessel New York on Saturday night—the only discipline assigned by the Standing Committee—but had been unable to do so owing to the (as he felt) impossible conditions imposed by his accusers. He had perforce to accept the new decision and let the matter rest, but it left him an unhappy and embittered man, bearing, as he thought, an unmerited stigma which he now felt it would be impossible ever to remove. He brooded over this injustice continually.

In 1846, only two years before his death and over thirty years after the time of his first trial, he happened to meet the Rev. N. W. Taylor on the New Haven boat. His former pastor made the first advance and they had a long and intimate talk, during which neither of them retreated from his former position, but in which a feeling of conciliation was shown on both sides. Shortly afterward the following letters, which will explain themselves, passed between them.

N.Y., June 12, 1846.

Rev. Dr. Taylor, Dear Sir:

After the declaration you made to me at our late interview, it would seem almost hopeless on my part to expect that any good to either of us or to the Cause of Christ would be produced by an attempt on either side, to reconcile our old dificulties and restore that cordial harmony & friendship which once so hapily existed between us. As preliminary, however, to such a possibility, and on my part to open the door to its ac-

complishment, I beg leave to state that I have in your New York own hand writing the Confession I was to make in compliance with the decission of the Commt., before whom I was tried.

I have also a written statement of yours in which you informed me my accusors & a Witness would consent to accept the confession which you showed them.

I have likewise copies of two letters written you on the day the above transaction took place, which was on the Saturday previous to your notifying the Church meeting & bringing me to a second trial before the church at large, on the same charges and from the same accusors.

The above letters you have, or (I may say) ought to have in your possession, & to them I refer you only remarking that the last one was written & sent to you on the evening previous to your calling the Church meeting as above stated, and at the close of which to make it more emphatic & unmistakable on your part I added to it the following postscript: "Viz: P.S.: — I do not object to making the confession drawn up by Mr. Taylor as a full & sattisfactory compliance with the decision of the Committee on the subject of a breach of Sabbath under the circumstances as proposed by him."

I forbear any comments or remarks on the above mentioned papers & letters, because from the declarations you made to me at our late interview there may be a posibility that the facts now communicated may not convince you of the great error under which you have so long labored, and I have so long & so painfully suffered.

And if so, allow me to reciprocate (as I know not when I may, if ever visit N.H.) the invitation you so

New York kindly gave me to call on you when at N. Haven by inviting you to visit me for a day or two at my house & look for yourself at the papers & letters above refered to, with the assurance on my part that you will be received and treated with respect & kindness.

> And in the exercise of such a spirit as we ought to possess I should hope the feelings of each might be softened and results follow which would serve to restore the friendship & intercourse which once existed between us.

Very Resp. Yr. Obt. Sert. L. DE FOREST.

New Haven, June 16, 1846.

My DEAR SIR:

Yours of the 12th was duly received; to which an earlier answer has been prevented by want of leisure. In respect to your proposal to review, to some extent, the facts of the case, & in this way, to adjust the difficulties between us, I entertain the same opinion which I expressed to you last Saturday. From such an attempt, I do not think, that any good would result. It can hardly be supposed, that after so long an interval has elapsed, we should agree in the facts on which an equitable adjustment would depend. For a long time. I have very much dropped the subject from my thoughts believing it to be hopeless for me to attempt to convince you that my views of the case were right, and that I had acted from a conscientious regard to duty in the whole transaction. With the full conviction of the justness of my own views & motives, & supposing as full a conviction of the contrary on your part, I was led to suppose that there was no prospect of restoring the friendship that once subsisted between us. Entertaining however no feelings of personal un-

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kindness towards you, I had often thought, especially Now York since the change in the record of the Church, that should a favorable opportunity occur for conversation with you, and an attempt at reconciliation, I would not be backward to improve it, knowing that many things are possible, which seem highly improbable. Accordingly, when I met you in the boat on Saturday, I sought the interview, which we had. My design, as I then told you, was not to review the facts of the case, either wholly or partially. My hope was, that you, who felt yourself to be the injured person, might, in the present circumstances of the case, and on the assurance from me, that I had never acted from any feelings of personal unkindness to you, & that I entertained no such feelings now, be willing to forget & forgive, to overlook what you had deemed errors or unkindness on my part, and that thus, a reconciliation between us might be effected. This, you will allow me to say, is, in my view, the only way in which we can reasonably hope to accomplish the object proposed in this world. In this way, I sincerely desire that it may be accomplished. As I proposed in our late conversation, so I now propose, that knowing our own imperfection & liability to err, we overlook, what we deem wrong in the past; & let the assurance from each to the other, of present good will. & feelings of kindness, be the basis of reconciliation & future friendship.

Should it be in my power at any future time to call on you & your family, I shall be happy to do so, as well as happy to see you at my house & elsewhere.

> Respectfully your obdt. servt., NATH. W. TAYLOR

Mr. L. DE FOREST.

New York

New York, June 30, 1846.

Rev. Dr. Taylor, Dear Sir:

Sattisfied that our present correspondence is not likely to restore that harmony between us, which I will not doubt both desire, it strikes me there is one way, which if approved & advocated by you, would I trust not only secure that object, but be cheerfully adopted by the present Pastor of that Ch. as well as every member of it who survives the memory, or took part in those transactions, as well as honorable to the memory and gratifying to the friends of those who are departed.

And that is to put out of existence all that relates to those unhappy transactions, both in regard to ourselves & the Church, including all our correspondence, and all the documents which I possess (about forty in number) in relation to my two trials &c. &c., and all the records and documents on file & in possession of the Church.

I cannot believe there is a single member of that Ch. living who would not rejoice to adopt this course. Nor do I believe there is a single one of our departed bretheren, who would not (if alive) most heartily unite in such a measure. The manner in which this may be accomplished, both honorably and sumarily by the Ch. could readily be arranged & consumated by a simple resolution, based if you please on my dismission &c. or some other as deemed proper and thus the Seal of Oblivion put upon all that has passed between us, and on the part of the Church, and a friendly future intercourse be re-established between us. All this is in your power to accomplish. Will you then unite your efforts

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with mine to accomplish an end so desirable? If so it New York will meet my cheerfull concurence.

I am

Very respectfully yours &c., L. D.

New Haven, July 8, 1846.

My DEAR SIR:

I could not conveniently obtain an interview with Mr. Bacon on the subject of your letter until last evenning. I acquainted him with your proposition in regard to the record &c. and assured him, that I had no objection, that everything on record or on file should be wholly obliterated. On the contrary, that I was willing to attend a meeting of the Church, and say this to them, if that should be deemed expedient or desirable. He was entirely ready to take the subject into consideration; but has not as yet laid it before the Church. This is the present state of the matter, which I have thought proper to communicate at this time, because I thought that you would expect to hear even before this, what my views of the subject were. I will, as soon as may be, inform you of the doings of the Church.

Respectfully yours &c.,

NATH. W. TAYLOR.

Mr. L. DE FOREST.

Lockwood's proposition was probably a wise one, for so long as he in his letter to Mr. Taylor could still allude to "the great error under which you have so long labored" and Mr. Taylor in his reply could still speak of his "full conviction of the justness of my own views," there was little hope of a complete

New York reconciliation between them. We do not know what really happened in the matter. The church records are silent, and those who could tell us are no longer where we can ask them. Perhaps the church members who were in control thought it better to keep the church books as they were and not to reopen the affair even to the extent of sanctioning a destruction of the records. We shall never know.

> Lockwood de Forest's forty documents are still neatly docketed and labelled in his handwriting — "Docs. relating to my Prosecution Lock. De Forest" — and the church records remain in their curtailed form as amended in January, 1817.

> Apart from the more apparent interest of the record, it is curious to reflect how simple were the moral issues which could so agitate a community in Lockwood's day. Our own problems of business and personal ethics, where they touch upon the questions of religious and moral responsibility, have become so complex and profound that it amazes us to be reminded that the loading of a ship on the Sabbath and the playing of a friendly card game were once the storm centres of a moral controversy.

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When Lockwood de Forest in the fall of 1815 moved to New York, the city contained about one hundred thousand inhabitants. His first residence there, as has been said, was rather far out in the

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country in what was then known as Greenwich Village. Here he occupied a house on Milligan Lane. Many city streets have been opened in the vicinity since that time and Milligan Lane has disappeared; but it ran in a diagonal line southwest from what is now the corner of Sixth Avenue and Eleventh Street, so that for many years after the new streets were laid out, the house stood on a wedge-shaped plot of land facing toward the southwestern angle of the two streets.

Greenwich Village was a place with considerable individuality. Even after the big city grew out to it and surrounded it, the little community held together and the young people courted among themselves and intermarried.

Our interest centres particularly in a courtship among the people of whom we have heard so much. The first romance in the Lockwood de Forest family was between Daniel Lord, Jr., and his sweetheart, Susan, Mr. de Forest's second daughter. Young Daniel had fallen in love with Susan in New Haven when he was a Yale student and she was only fourteen years old. After she came to live in Greenwich Village he continued to pay her devoted attentions, though this was more difficult than in the New Haven days; for he now lived with his family at "Old Slip" (near Hanover Square and Pearl Street), which was very far away. But Love smiles at difficulties, as we know, and when Daniel wished to

New York call on Susan, he thought nothing of making the long trip on horseback. Susan was always in a state of great anxiety lest he be attacked by footpads in the lanes and dark roads through which he must pass on his way home, but he never came to any harm, and the love affair prospered.

> In the fall of 1816 Lockwood took another house, No. 7 Roosevelt Street, near Chatham Square, and moved "in town" early in October. At about the same time he sent his son George, then ten years old. to board with Mr. Samuel Rowland, one of Lockwood's former neighbors at Fairfield, and the latter was told to "keep a stern hand with him, and let him know his place." An instructor was to be provided and George was to pursue the ordinary studies for boys of his age, but it was not thought that his former taste for study warranted a "liberal education." Such an education was an expensive luxury for a man in Mr. de Forest's circumstances, especially as there were now ten children to be provided for. Wheeler had gone to sea when he was only seventeen years old and had got on very well without much learning — in fact, he had become a wellinformed and well-read man through his own exertions — so why could not the second son, when his father had so many other uses for his money, do as well?

> George had been at Fairfield scarcely a month when he wrote to his father that his money was all

gone! The latter answered that he was very sorry, New York "but it can't be helpt now — it is gone! I can send you no more!" By way of emphasizing the lesson, he added, "Now you cant pay for postages lat that time not prepaid and so none of us can write you, only once in a great while." He also begged his ten-year-old son to "be above childish play" and to become an eminent scholar. "You are now out of reach of that daily admonition, you used to receive from your tender Mother, dont forget it therefore." George never did forget it and was ever a most thoughtful and devoted son.

In return for Mr. Rowland's care of George, Mr. de Forest promised to look after Mr. Rowland's son, Henry, and his studies in New York. It is hardly likely, though, that he was able with his large family to take Henry into his own home.

Shortly after the move to Roosevelt Street in 1816, little Alfred, the youngest of the family and at that time only three years old, sickened and died. This was the first break in the family circle and it was a great sorrow to the child's brothers and sisters. as well as to the parents. The baby died on New Year's Eve, and Susan and Eliza went out in the yard afterward and walked in the moonlight talking of their little brother. Eliza was fifteen years old at that time, but when, as an old lady of seventysix, she was looking at the Christmas moon with one of her brothers, she told him of this incident, and

Lockwood de Forest

New York added that she never saw the moon at that time of year but that she "half wondered whether it was the same moon she had then looked upon."

The following August another baby boy made his appearance—Frederick Lockwood, 1st—but he stayed with his parents only about a year. These two little boys were the only children whom Mehetabel and Lockwood de Forest ever lost. All the rest of their fourteen children lived to maturity and all married except their eldest son, Wheeler.

The first wedding in the family took place on September 25, 1817, when Mary, the eldest daughter, was married to Roger Sherman Skinner of New Haven, grandson of Roger Sherman, the signer of the Declaration of Independence, and the young people went to live in New Haven with Mr. Skinner's parents. This match was considered a very brilliant one for Mary.

Only eight months later, on May 16, 1818, Susan was married to Daniel Lord, Jr. One of her daughters gives an amusing account of the circumstances connected with this wedding.

Within a week of the time set for Susan de Forest's marriage, some friend made a personal remark at which Susan took great offence. She insisted that she would not ask the offender to the wedding, declaring, "I won't, I won't invite her!" Now the lady in question was closely connected with the family, so that it was impossible to invite even a few friends without inviting her.

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Daniel Lord came to talk it over with the irate young New York girl, but, making no impression, finally asked, "Will you leave it to your mother and me to decide?" She acquiesced. He then went to Susan's mother and after discussion they decided that the wedding should take place that evening — a Saturday — and that only the immediate members of the family should be present.

When Daniel proposed it to Susan, she said, "Why, I can't be married — I have no wedding dress!" He retorted, "Is not any dress in which you are married your wedding dress?" So she consented to wear an ordinary white dress.

Mr. Lord then went to Wheeler de Forest and said. "I want you to go for Dr. Spring, Susan and I are going to be married to-night!" Wheeler exclaimed, "Why, it is raining great guns," but the bridegroom, nothing daunted, answered, "I don't expect to be married outof-doors."

Mrs. de Forest wanted to give the young couple the room which Aunt Betsey was then occupying, and said, "Betsey, get your room ready - Susan is going to be married to-night." Aunt Betsey commenced to cry. "Stop your crying and get your room ready," said her sister-in-law.

So Daniel and Susan were married that night and attended the Brick Church the next day, where no one knew that they were man and wife, and on Monday they started on their honeymoon. Later they came back and were given a fine reception, at which the bride wore a beautiful wedding dress.

The New York Directory, published in July, 1817, shows that the family were then living at 150 Cherry

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Lockwood de Forest

New York Street, but in June, 1818, we find that they had again moved and were located at 30 Oliver Street. In this house Mr. de Forest's youngest daughter, Louisa, was born on August 20, 1818.

> Only two years later another move, still in the same neighborhood, was made, to 82 Frankfort Street. In this house the family lived for four years and while there little Louisa, then two years old, nearly lost her life in the garden of her mother's house. Her father immediately wrote to tell George about it.

> > July 14, 1820.

DEAR GEORGE -

Your dear little sister Louisa is spared, & is now well - yet yesterday morning she was for near half an hour supposed to be beyond the hope of being restored to life.

Your Mama was with her in the chamber, & all at once missed her, went down & could not find her in the lower rooms - saw the cistern open & looking down saw her floating on the water — an alarm was given & a young man was let down by the hands of others & caught her by the feet & brought her out apparently dead. But after the usual applications for a few minutes signs of life appeared, and through the mercy of God she was restored and is now as well as ever.

I trust dear George your heart will unite with ours, in deep felt gratitude to God for his sparing mercy, so signally manifested toward your little sister. . . .

You know our Cistern holds 30 Hhd. & it had nearly 8 feet water in it. When caught she was 2 or 3 feet under water.

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Not many days after this, on August 3, 1820, an- New York other son, Henry Grant, was born. This youngster came into the world with two nephews - sons of Mrs. Skinner and Mrs. Lord — already there to greet him. He was born about two years after "Aunt Betsey" came to live with her brother Lockwood, and the new baby became her special pet.

Aunt Betsev was then about thirty-three years old. It was the custom of the day for girls who had not married and who needed a home to be taken into that of some relative, where they made themselves useful in the household in return for their board. Sometimes they became mere drudges. This was not the case, however, with Betsey, whose home life was of the happiest and who was much beloved by her brother's children, although much tormented by them as well. Her nephew Henry wrote many years later the following description of her:—

She was "Aunt Betsey" to all of us children and was devotedly attached to me, read to me before I could read myself, then taught me verses from hymns and from the Bible & was never tired of doing her best for me. Very different she was in her way of looking at things from my mother. Aunt Betsey was very conscientious and very devout, but the way of duty was not for her a joyous way. She would have suspected herself of being out of the way, if she had found much joy in it. I sat next to her on Sundays in Dr. Spring's church, & the tears were often in her eyes. I think her conceptions of God must have been principally those

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New York representing Him as a sin-hating God, without sufficiently emphasizing His infinite loving-ness.

She was very helpful in the household, and though I and the younger children constantly fretted and rebelled against her attempts to restrain us, we realize now how kind and selfless she was. My father had given her a home from my earliest memory. . . .

I never knew my mother say an unkind word to Aunt Betsey.

One of Aunt Betsey's nieces gave a rather humorous account of her personal appearance: "She was a very tall, straight, prim-looking woman with dark snapping eyes and dark hair, and with it all a flyaway look. She wore a cap with strings which were always flying out behind." Some of her nieces thought her "crazy looking" but they all loved her.

Two other children followed Henry — James Goodrich (October 3, 1822), named for Mr. de Forest's faithful partner, and Frederick Lockwood, 2nd (December 2, 1825). This trio of little boys — "Henry, Jim, and Fred" — were the youngest members of this large family. When Mehetabel de Forest's youngest child, Fred, was born, her eldest one, Wheeler, was thirty-one years old! This is a somewhat remarkable record, though such families were not unusual in those early days, notwithstanding the trials and privations and innumerable duties of the New England housewife of the time, who was frequently left without help except such as might be rendered by some relative residing in the family —

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as, for instance, the devoted and invaluable "Sister New York Betsey."

As was quite natural, Mr. de Forest chose unpretentious localities for his residence during the early part of his stay in New York, but as he prospered in business, he decided to move to a more fashionable neighborhood. He selected Greenwich Street, one of the most desirable streets in the city, as it led to the Battery, then the park where the fashionable world met to promenade and enjoy the sea breezes and the view of the harbor. He moved in 1823 to No. 110 Greenwich Street and lived there for two years. From 1825 until 1830 he was at No. 90 Greenwich Street, and from then until the time when he left New York, in 1833, he was at No. 62 on the same street.

His son Henry in the "Narrative" already mentioned writes of these Greenwich Street days with a very tender and loving touch, and his account is of such interest — giving, as it does, not only a picture of the home life but of the times as well — that full extracts from it will now be given.

A three story brick house with slate roof and dormer windows on the East side of Greenwich St. N. Y. City between Rector and Carolina Street known as No. 110 in the year 1824 or perhaps a few months earlier. This is my earliest recollection of my home. The house No. 110 Greenwich St. was exchanged a year or two later for No. 90, nearer the Battery, and after a few years

New York there we removed to No. 62, still nearer the Battery remaining in that house till 1834 or thereabouts when my father retired from business and went to Bridgeport.

> The most memorable room in the two earlier homes was the nursery. It was on the 2nd floor front in both No. 110 and No. 90, the outlook on Greenwich Street, very attractive to us children - my sister Louise, brother James & myself. But the interior was the great delight. The open fireplace, the brass andirons, the wood fire, and our dear Mother's presence above everything else made this the adytum of the Home. She was the priestess but there were no mysteries and no concealments. We had the usual number of servants for such an establishment at that period, but our mother attended to many details of the household herself. I remember well that she herself kept the outer corners of the fire place neatly painted a pure red. I have often seen her doing it with a small paint brush, the red paint being supplied from a small earthen mug. . . .

When my parents removed to New York they joined the "Brick" Presbyterian Church. It was so called because of the material used in its construction. It stood at the South westerly end of the triangular plot of land enclosed by Beekman St. Park Row and Nassau St. The brick church was on the front next Beekman Street. There was a "Session Room" on the Easterly front, built of wood, painted white - a very simple inexpensive structure. The spaces around the church were in grass & trees and the enclosure was in use as a grave yard like that of Old Trinity. Rev. Gardiner

¹ Their earliest church membership had been, as we have just heard, with Mr. Rowan's church in Greenwich Village.

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THE "BRICK CHURCH," NEW YORK, FROM THE CORNER OF NASSAU STREET AND PARK ROW, 1820

From a water-color drawing by Archibald Robertson in the New York Historical Society

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Spring D.D. was the pastor of the Church and con- New York tinued so until his death. . . .

The so called "catechisms" were held regularly on Wednesday afternoons at the Session Room. This was before Sunday Schools had become general. The catechising of the children by the minister, brought him in close acquaintance with them. It is a pity that there has been a change in this respect. It was also the constant practice of my father every Sunday to hear us children recite the Westminster catechism. My sister Louise, & my brother James & Fred & I continued to do this until we had grown up....1

In order to get from my home in Greenwich St. to the Brick Church session room, I had to walk up Rector St. to Broadway, then through Broadway to Park Row, and through Park Row to Beekman Street. On Sundays while service was going on in Trinity Church, a chain was suspended across Rector St. and another across Broadway near the head of Wall Street to prevent the passage of vehicles and the consequent disturbance of the worship. . . .

There were city pumps at various corners with long heavy iron handles worn bright by constant use. I remember one in particular at the corner of Broadway and Park Row just opposite St. Paul's church. I was told that when St. Paul's statue then & still on the pediment of the Church heard the clock strike twelve at midnight it came down and took a drink from that

¹ As an instance of the father's interest in the development of his children, Henry mentions finding after his father's death, treasured among the latter's papers, the certificate which Dr. Spring had given to Henry when he was seven years old for correctly repeating the Shorter Catechism.

New York pump. I then believed that the statue did hear the clock strike, and of course believed all the rest.

I was also told that the Theatre we passed on the way to the Church (The Park Theatre) was the "Devil's House" and I used to shy off to the curb when walking by, for fear of being drawn in. I once entered the Park Theatre about the year 1844 to hear Macready play Hamlet. This was shortly before it was taken down, and about the same time the old Brick Church was removed to 5th Ave. corner of 37th St. and the old grave yard and the old Session room disappeared.

I shall never forget the impressions I received from Dr. Spring's preaching during my childhood. He was a man of fine presence & of real dignity. His voice was musical and tender. He was an intimate friend of my father, and I saw him often at our house. . . . I see the interior of the old church as it then existed before me now; the straight backed pews, painted white, the pulpit standing on slight fluted Corinthian columns, with benches under it, and over it high up on the ceiling a medallion with this inscription "Holiness to the Lord." This medallion is the only memento of the old church which has been retained in the later edifice. . . .

Dr. Spring was a strict Calvinist in his theology. All the Presbyterian divines of that period were. He was universally respected throughout the city. When the Cholera visited N.Y. about the year 1839 he was one of the few ministers who remained at his post and all sects recognized this adherence to his duty.

While young children were being added to the household of Lockwood and Mehetabel, the elder



ST. PAUL'S CHURCH AND THE BROADWAY STAGES, 1831
From Valentine's Manual, 1861



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daughters, as has already been shown, were leaving New York it and going to homes of their own. Eliza was married on December 22, 1823, to Samuel Downer; Jane, on March 23, 1826, to Burr Wakeman; Sarah, on September 28, 1830, to Walter Edwards; and Ann Mehetabel on October 27, 1830, to Simeon Baldwin. One cannot help wondering why the last two sisters, who were married just one month apart, did not choose rather to have a double wedding.

When Lockwood de Forest in 1815 made his great venture and transferred his large family to New York, Wheeler was twenty-one years old. He had already had considerable shipping experience. In 1817 his father took him into partnership under the firm name of L. & W. W. De Forest. The next year the name was changed to De Forest & Son and so continued until 1836.

At first they rented a store on the East River front, 85 South Street, but in 1820 the firm had had sufficient success to warrant establishing themselves on a permanent basis. They then bought a store, No. 82 South Street, in the very midst of the shipping district. In fact, the accompanying illustration shows No. 75 South Street on the corner of Maiden Lane, and only a few doors above was the store of De Forest & Son. These premises remained in the possession of the family until 1900, when they were sold by the heirs of Lockwood de Forest's three younger sons.

New York

Nine years after they moved into 82 South Street the building was burned down, but was immediately rebuilt, though the new store was not so large as the old one. The insurance companies refused on technical grounds to pay the loss on the goods in the store, which were mainly consigned property. Mr. de Forest brought suit against them and in this crisis found his legal experience, acquired in the law courts of Connecticut while deputy sheriff there, of the greatest value to him. The case was decided against the companies and the plaintiff felt the keenest satisfaction in the result, independently of the pecuniary interest he had in it.

Lockwood de Forest was now prosperous in his business and had become "notable among the New York importers and shippers of the early half of the century." He was also in his own way a loving father, at all times vitally interested in the welfare of his children, especially in their religious welfare. He prayed for them, exhorted them, and had them continually in his mind. He frequently urged one or another of them to use his or her influence for the good of the others. But he held them with a stern hand and thought it right so to do. His children feared rather than loved him when they were young, but they appreciated his fine qualities more as they grew older and were able to look behind the sometimes harsh exterior.

His association in partnership with his eldest son



SOUTH STREET FROM MAIDEN LANE, 1828. PAINTED AND ENGRAVED BY WILLIAM I. BENNETT

From Valentine's Manual, 1854

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Wheeler in a business which was honorable and prof- New York itable to both men should have brought him unalloved satisfaction. But we have seen how strenuous and insistent this unhappy man could be, even when to others the subject at issue might appear trivial. and these traits were now to aggravate a controversy in which Lockwood and Wheeler de Forest became entangled and to render it fairly tragic. It is probable that this affair would never have become so grave had Mr. de Forest been less agitated and overwrought by the church trial in which he had suffered so keenly; but in any case the cause of the trouble seems entirely out of proportion to its effect. It all grew out of a difference of opinion as to the method of keeping the firm's books. We must remember that while Mr. de Forest could be so positive and persistent as to make it impossible to continue business relations with him, vet Wheeler was impulsive, as was natural in a young man, rather quick-tempered. and had somewhat the same insistent traits as his father.

The story of this unfortunate affair is as follows: In the early winter of 1833 Mr. de Forest became convinced that the methods of bookkeeping employed by De Forest & Son were not good — "wrong," as he emphatically put it. He accused no one of fraud, nor did he, in fact, consider himself defrauded; he simply did not like the methods employed. He spent much time in studying the ac-

New York counts and arguing with his son or the bookkeeper on the subject, without convincing either of them that he was right. He then appealed to various correspondents of the house, including their agent abroad, but none of these could see anything out of the way. Such was also the judgment of two gentlemen, friends of the family, who were appointed referees, Mr. de Forest agreeing to consider their decision "final and conclusive."

> A lawyer selected by him was then asked to give a legal opinion "to advise and instruct the referees." His decision was also adverse to Mr. de Forest, who therefore expressed a wish to go over the accounts with him and explain his objections. This the lawver wisely declined to do, giving as a reason his fear of injuring Mr. de Forest's health, which made the latter promptly retort, "I employed you as legal counsel, and not as physician: nor do I want your advice as such."

> This legal opinion left Mr. de Forest still unsatisfied. He felt that he could not go back on his word and continue the controversy on his own account. but he considered himself justified in taking up the cudgels on behalf of some of the customers of the firm, although the customers themselves were perfectly satisfied. Such a course was certainly unfair and was not in accordance with the spirit of his agreement with the referees. It was the only act in the whole unhappy business in which Mr. de Forest

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could be regarded as taking an unfair advantage, but New York he was now in a very overwrought mental condition and entirely unreasonable. One of his relatives, seeing the havoc the controversy was making, felt warranted in writing: "You make it the demon of the day and the vision of the night. You allow it to destroy your peace of mind; to inspire you with distrust of your son and best friends; to break up your family."

But such admonitions did not deter Lockwood de Forest from continuing the bitter contention. It had grown to be an obsession with him and he had to defend his position. He therefore had a book or pamphlet printed, "fifty six pages with a voluminous appendix," setting forth the whole subject, including the correspondence. This pamphlet he had distributed broadcast, with the sole effect of extending the knowledge of the quarrel.

Wheeler now made overtures to buy his father's interest, but it was evidently impossible to agree on terms which would be satisfactory to both of them. The controversy dragged its weary length for a year and a half, until the distracted merchant became thoroughly exhausted. "I was at length prostrated on a bed of sickness," he wrote later, "my constitution shattered — my whole nervous system agitated and deranged, and my heart broken within me." His wife was also ill from the worry and all the family were in a nervous and exhausted condition.

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New York

At this time various members of Mr. de Forest's family were living in Bridgeport, and in the summer of 1833 his children persuaded him to go there and live, for a while at any rate, hoping that the companionship of these relatives and the change of scene might work a cure. This he did, but he still brooded, not only over the bookkeeping, but also over what he considered his son's undutiful conduct.

Unfortunately, at this time his son-in-law, Daniel Lord, Ir., was also brought into the controversy. Mr. de Forest had always respected young Mr. Lord's opinions and judgment, and Lockwood's gentle wife hoped that a statement from Mr. Lord as to how far Wheeler had acted upon his advice would tend to soften Mr. de Forest's condemnation of his son. But, alas, Mr. de Forest's wrath simply turned upon his son-in-law, and another sad and futile controversy was begun. Since this led nowhere, we might well pass over it in silence, except for the fact that Mr. de Forest again had recourse to his habit of appealing to an "Enlightened public" and printed the entire correspondence! Such an act was unquestionably due to his extreme mental excitement. Mr. Lord's letters had been patient and friendly in tone, but Lockwood de Forest could not brook the assumption that any one, and especially a younger man, was wiser than he or should presume to criticize him or differ from him.

It was indeed high time that Mr. de Forest should

Family Ties

be persuaded to leave the strenuous life of New New York York and settle in a place where there was less to agitate him.

Family Ties

Probably no course could have been wiser than the one taken in persuading Mr. de Forest to move to Bridgeport with his family in the summer of 1833. As has been said, he had several relatives residing there at this time from whom he had long been separated and whom he enjoyed being near once more. His brother William, two years his senior, made his home in Bridgeport with his second wife (Widow Lucretia Canfield) and his children. Abby Lewis, Lockwood's eldest sister, was there to welcome him. Lockwood's half-brother, Charles, was also living there with his wife. When, therefore, Lockwood and his sister Betsey joined the family group, there were five of Nehemiah de Forest's children again dwelling in one town.

Upon Lockwood's arrival, he went to board with his nephew Isaac, his brother William's son, but finding his stay in Bridgeport agreeable, he decided to adopt that city as his residence, for the time being at any rate. He therefore secured a house on Main Street near Fairfield Avenue, just at the foot of Golden Hill, and had it put in good order through-

¹ Eleanor Hickock, Charles's mother, had died in Bridge-port in 1825.

Bridgeport out. On May 1, 1834, he sent his coachman to New York to bring up his furniture.

There was no longer necessity for so large a house as the family had formerly occupied, for they were now very few in number. All the daughters were married except Louisa; Wheeler and George were in New York, while Henry and James were at boarding-school in the same place. Thus the only children at home were Louisa and Fred.

Of course Aunt Betsey must not be left out of the family list. She was indeed happy in the new home; for she had a lovely garden in the rear of the house — a garden where she could raise the flowers that she loved and vegetables as well, especially if the children would help her with the weeding.

The family lived with a certain amount of style in Bridgeport. Mr. de Forest, who was exceedingly fond of driving, had a coachman and a pair of horses, "Peacock and Pedlar"—at that time the only turnout of such magnificence in the place. This pair he liked to drive about the country, making long excursions and going frequently to Fairfield, where his daughter Mary (Mrs. Skinner) was then living. When he was not using Peacock and Pedlar himself, his daughter Louisa took pleasure in driving them harnessed to a gig; she would sometimes return from Fairfield with the gig packed full of her sister Mary's children, all brought to pay their grandparents a little visit.

The father loved to have his children and his Bridgeport children's children with him and frequently wrote letters somewhat like the following: "We should be pleased to see any of the Family here — we have a first rate Cook & everything of the best. Tell them to come along." The mother, as well, was never better pleased than when there was not a nook or a corner of the house unoccupied, and it must indeed have been elastic to have contained the people that were sometimes packed into it. As an illustration, we quote from Mr. de Forest's reply to a letter from Henry, then at Amherst College: -

April 26, 1838. We should on almost any occasion be happy to see a friend with you - and will not object now but on the contrary say to you to bring him if you think best. Yet as we are likely to be well stocked with company, I think it is proper you should know how we are likely to be circumstanced — that you may know how to judge for yourself. To begin then Sarah (unwell) and her child & nurse will be here for a Mo. or more. Yourself, James & Fred (both latter home now) Mr. Downer & Eliza are coming in a few days, soon as he is able to stand the passage and we expected Ann & child also in the course of the next month, but nevertheless your Mother says "let him come. We can do well enough for a few days. . . . We shall do what we can to make it pleasant for him if he comes,"

For the Thanksgiving dinner especially, Mr. de Forest delighted in gathering the family together

Bridgepore and yet was himself rather silent at such times; he never laughed, and the dinners would have been serious or even solemn affairs had it not been for the sweetness and graciousness of his wife. She called him "Mr. D." and would have thought it disrespectful to use any more familiar name. She loved and admired her husband greatly, but she had to make a constant effort to soften down his harshness; in fact, she was the family peacemaker.

> Mr. de Forest was now fifty-eight years old, a tall, strikingly handsome man, wearing, as was customary, a high stock, which served to emphasize his stately appearance. We have said that he was a stern man but, as is often the case with such characters, there went with this sternness an amount of energy which many of his descendants have inherited and for which they probably have him to thank.

> In his new home, with its simple country life, he could, if anywhere, forget his worriments and allow himself to be drawn into new and less strenuous interests. These could not, however, make him forget the two little boys in New York. They were at a boarding school, at the "Washington Institute," which was far away from the town in the open country at Thirteenth Street near Third Avenue. They had already been there for a couple of years and had acquired a first-rate grounding in English, though they received very slight instruction in



WASHINGTON INSTITUTE AND THE NEW YORK RESERVOIR From Valentine's Manual, 1853

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Latin and none in Greek. In the fall of 1833 the Bridgepore father wrote to these children, then thirteen and eleven years of age, a letter which can truly be described as "awful," although it was the kind of letter deemed necessary, according to the spirit of that day, for the salvation of their souls.

DEAR HENRY & JAMES

Seperated as we are from you . . . Your dear Mother & I do not forget you. . . . We often call to mind the happy seasons when you all sat around us on the Evening of the Blessed Sabbath, & rehearsed the truths of God's Holy Word from the summary of it, in the Catechism. And we hope & pray that you neither now, or ever will hereafter, forget or neglect, a single one of all those great truths. . . .

Is it your desire to be usefull to your fellow men and to the Church of God in the World. Your only hope of being so, Depends on your cordial acceptance and belief of these great truths. He that believeth shall be saved, and he that believeth not — shall be damned. This is the voice of Eternal truth! God hath declared it. There is no getting away from it. . . . Oh what is it to be Damned! It is not only to lose the society of God & Christ, of angels & Glorified Spirits — of those of our dear relatives & friends with whom we once lived & once so tenderly loved on Earth, & now are among the blood bought throng around the throne of God the Lamb.

But O dreadfull thought! It is to dwell in Eternal burnings, & forever to mingle in the Society of Devils & Damned Spirits, where is nothing but ceaseless weeping & wailing & gnashing of teeth!! —

And would you, my dear children, avoid this dread-

Bridgeport ful doom. Then "Remember your Creator in the days of your Youth." "Seek first" - (before any thing & every thing else) "the Kingdom of God and his Righteousness, & all things else" (which shall be best for you) "shall be added unto you" — "Now is the accepted time." "Now is the day of Salvation." Not to-morrow — Tomorrow may be too late. Youth is the time to seek the Lord....

Believe us Affectionately

Your Father & Mother.

(Henry) Perhaps James cant read this so well — you will therefore read it to him.

One can imagine the nightmares which the poor little fellows had after reading this terrible epistle - and yet the father wrote it in kindness and, as he thought, for their good.

In the spring of 1834 the boys went to spend the vacation with their parents and did not return to the Washington Institute. In fact, Henry now began to make his meagre preparations for college under a tutor in Bridgeport. Up to this time the father had not felt that he could afford to send his sons to college; but he now had more wealth, Henry was eager for knowledge, and it had been decided to allow him this privilege.

The choice of a college was an important matter. Theology was one of the most serious factors in this decision. In Henry's note-book he writes regarding his father's convictions on this subject: "My father's mind was active, logical and discriminating; he Bridgeport never hesitated or doubted about the Calvinistic doctrines. He read theological books and was ready to controvert all comers who opposed the theology

he adhered to."

Henry and his nephew, Daniel D. Lord, were anxious to go to Yale, but the theology taught there was, in Mr. de Forest's opinion, "heterodox." Amherst was favorably considered; but Mr. de Forest hesitated a long time because Professor Hitchcock had adopted the theory, then not universal, of long geological periods prior to the creation of man, and it was generally thought at that time that this theory was incompatible with the account in Genesis.

Finally the vote was cast for Amherst, and Henry, after a year of preparation, was able to pass his examinations in July, 1835, shortly before the completion of his fifteenth year. During this year of serious study his brother Wheeler was exceedingly kind and sympathetic. He himself had always felt the lack of a good education. Henry at one time said regarding him: -

He never had the opportunity of being long at school, but somehow, & in some way, he gained as good an acquaintance with his own language as many liberally educated men possess.

When I graduated from College in my twentieth year, he was about forty-seven years old. He was even

Lockwood de Forest

Bridgeport then reading carefully books on the grammar & philosophy of the language. He had a well-chosen library & for many years was attended for an hour or two daily by an educated gentleman who read aloud to him standard books, & discussed their topics. This was during a period when he was suffering from weakness of the eyes, & when he was engaged in very active business.

> It was always a relief to Wheeler to turn from his business to thoughts of the little circle at home and to imagine them happily and usefully employed. He was very anxious to be of assistance to his younger brother and wrote long, encouraging letters to him, giving good advice but not giving it in a way that made it hard of acceptance. He wrote Henry:

> You should not let Aunt Betsey have it to say, that you should have no garden if it was not for her, because you ought to help her, & consider it not a labour, but a privilege....

If you would rise early in the morning, & help Aunt Betsey, it would not only keep the weeds from growing in the garden, but from growing somewhere else . . . for the only way to keep weeds down is never to let them go to seed, and you should recollect that the first garden we read of was planted by the Almighty, & the first created being upon earth before sin came into the world was put there to dress & keep it; it is therefore an honorable as well as a healthy & useful occupation. . . .

I wish you would take a little more pains not only with your writing, but in the subject of your letters, and before you begin, think over what you have to say, & then they will be much more interesting, and instead

of confining yourself to how hard the Horse trots, and Bridgeport the Beans, beets & corn in the Garden, that you would go a little further, & tell me what advancement you are making in your studies, & then I should know how you are preparing yourself for future usefulness, & that you would be a credit & comfort hereafter to all connected with you.

You cannot, my dear boy, estimate too highly your present advantages, or pay too great attention to your studies . . . for, as poor Richard says, - "Rust consumes faster than labor wears, while the used key is always bright." I wish you to be always using your key to the Treasury of Knowledge.

> Always your affectionate Brother, W. W. DE FOREST.

When October, 1835, came around, the whole family was in a twitter of excitement, for was not Henry starting for Amherst to be a Freshman and no member of the family had ever been a Freshman! Many were the preparations, and yet some things were forgotten. After he had gone, Louisa wrote to him that his mother very much regretted that he had not taken his old frock coat with him. as it would have been most useful and convenient when he was chopping wood. A week later the old frock coat and other omitted articles were forwarded by a friend. How we wish we might have seen Henry chopping his firewood in that frock coat or "surtout," as he calls it in another place!

With the frock coat went a letter of good advice

Bridgeport from his father, who begged him to choose a roommate of good habits and piety, who, as he said, would "unite with you in daily Prayer together in your room." He also bade him "associate with none but the pious" if he would keep "uncontaminated." What father would in these days venture to give this advice to a son at college or expect him to carry it out!

> When the time for the New Year (not Christmas) vacation drew near, Henry, who had been at Amherst only two months, asked permission to go home. His father's answer was: "The ensuing vacation is so short, the distance so far, the weather and traveling so uncertain and Spring vacation so soon coming round that although we should all be very happy to see you yet it seems quite unwise if not childish to come on that occasion. . . . The extra expense would go a good way towards buying you a watch if you should by your proficiency and good Conduct be worthy of one next Spring."

> Although the refusal was somewhat softened by the suggestion of a watch, Henry was bitterly disappointed and wrote another pleading letter; but his father, who was probably longing to see his boy, felt, nevertheless, the importance of inculcating a lesson on "reason and sound judgment." He therefore replied: "I am far from upbraiding you for your endearing thoughts of home, of Parents, Brothers & Sisters. I am glad to know you profess

these tender and kindly feelings. We all possess the Bridgeport same towards you, and often think and talk about you, and often I trust remember you at the throne of Grace.... Yet under all circumstances, we still consider it unwise and imprudent for you to think of coming home this short vacation, and hope you will on reflection allow your better judgement and manly fortitude to bring you cheerfully to the same conclusion."

Sarah Edwards, then visiting her mother, added her word, saying that there were very many things which appeared desirable and yet on the whole were not best for one and that the family hoped that Henry's judgment would govern his feelings. "Mother," she added, "wishes very much she could send you a box of cake." She then asked if there were any New York boy returning to Amherst after vacation, and strangely enough, it was by the hand of Benjamin L. Swan, from whom so much has been quoted in the earlier chapters of this book, that she sent a big box of cake and goodies to her younger brother. Wheeler also sent a pair of skates, with the remark, "If you are already supplied you can sell them & slide with the proceeds."

Before January was over Henry's father had occasion to write to him that the family were all gratified that he had had good sense and firmness enough to overcome his homesickness, not because the feeling itself was discreditable or unnatural but that it

Bridgeport was useful in all cases so to discipline the mind as to be able to do what is right, reasonable, and proper, rather than to be governed by mere feeling or inclination.

> He then alluded to the interest which his son had shown in phrenology, which he termed "utter foolishness," and urged on him rather the hope that the lectures on temperance, especially as to the use of tobacco, would have a prohibitory influence on him as long as he lived. Whether this was the reason or not, Henry certainly never used tobacco and was always moderate in his use of wine.

> Meanwhile a very disastrous event took place in New York, "The Great Fire of 1835." All of Mr. de Forest's sons and sons-in-law lost heavily except Wheeler, Mr. Baldwin, and Mr. Edwards, and even these gentlemen suffered indirectly by failures which the fire occasioned. Some of the sons were entirely burned out, losing their buildings, furniture, and goods — a serious matter for young men with families depending upon them.

> In the fall of 1835 Mr. de Forest had an interesting visitor, Captain Abel de Forest. He was a first cousin of Lockwood and was one of the "Four brothers of Revolutionary fame," Samuel, Abel, Mills, and Gideon, who had just been holding at Edmeston, New York, where Gideon's home then was, the reunion of which mention has already been made. Captain Abel was on his way home with his

daughter and called to see his kinsman in Bridge- Bridgeport port. Seeing this seventy-four-year-old veteran must have carried Lockwood's thoughts back to his own boyhood and the days of war time in his father's inn at New Stratford.

Many things occupied his attention during the winter of 1836. New York still had claims upon him, as is shown in his appointment by the Chamber of Commerce as a member of the Committee of Fifteen which was to arrange for a celebration in connection with the opening of the Erie Canal. Another transportation problem nearer home interested him even more vitally. There began to be a great deal of talk about building a railroad from Bridgeport up the valley of the Housatonic and he was very enthusiastic over the idea and did what he could to encourage it. In fact, he threw himself heart and soul into the project, becoming more earnest over it than was advantageous for him or agreeable for his family.

Public affairs had, however, to be relegated to the background before long because so many interesting domestic ones came to the fore. It was during this winter that one of Lockwood de Forest's sons wrote to tell his parents that he had decided to join the church. Nothing could have given them greater joy. This act on his son's part was as balm to the father's troubled spirit. Lockwood hastened to write: "Your thrice welcome letter... was recd.

Bridgepon last evening, and its contents filled all our hearts, with joy and gratitude to God...he has ... 'snatched you as a brand from the burning' when according to your own present view, you had nearly reached the precipice, whence so many plunged into the gulph of 'fiery billows' which roll below. Your dear Mother. Aunt and the boys were present, when I opened your letter & read it. We were all deeply affected, and most of us wept for joy, that another of our dear children had a hope that he had chosen the God of our Fathers for his portion — had cast himself, into the arms of his precious Redeemer, to be kept by Him, through Sanctification of the Spirit, and belief of the truth, into Eternal redemption."

> Later he added: "Think of your Brothers and Sisters that are still out of the Ark of Safety and exposed to death, and everlasting seperation from all holy beings, in the world of misery and wo! Oh! pray for them . . . let them know that you feel a deep interest for their eternal welfare — and write them as often as vou can."

> Another event excited great family interest. Mary Skinner, who had for some time been living in a rented house in Fairfield, was eager to secure a permanent home there, near her parents. Her father now found a very good house on Fairfield Green — the Green he knew so well — which he bought for her in May, 1836.

Now that Mary was really established on the old

Green, her father thought that it should be beauti- Bridgeport fied; he therefore sent to a nursery back in the country at Redding and had a fine lot of young trees brought down and planted around this historic spot. Of course the Skinners, young and old, were intensely interested in the growth of these trees; but alas, a couple of years later Grandfather de Forest came to call and announced that the trees needed pruning and, feeling that the person who had paid for the trees could do as he pleased with them, proceeded to prune them mercilessly while the Skinner family, dissolved in tears, watched the heart-breaking proceeding from their front windows. The beautiful trees still on Fairfield Green are undoubtedly the better now for this vigorous early trimming.

The frequent visits between parents and children now became even more frequent. Mrs. Skinner was very hospitably inclined and her house was always full, her brother Wheeler among others usually passing part of each summer with her. Like a good oldfashioned New England housekeeper, she made her own bread and cake, and when her sisters and their families visited her, she often used up a barrel of flour in two weeks!

George, Mary's second brother, could not come to visit her. He had remained unmarried all these years, but now he wrote to tell his family that he was engaged to Miss Margaret de Forest, a distant relative. The family were all delighted except little

Bridgeport Fred, who sententiously gave as his opinion, "Them that marry do well but those that do not do better." Fred, it should be remarked, continued to "do better" until he had reached the age of forty-one. when he concluded that just to "do well" was on the whole the more satisfactory plan.

> Another great pleasure came to Lockwood de Forest at just about this time, probably as great a one as could have been given to him. His son Wheeler made overtures looking toward a reconciliation with his father. The latter had evidently longed for it and yet had been so long immovable that it still seemed impossible for him to yield anything. Wheeler wrote on March 20, 1836: -

DEAR FATHER

... I understand from Mary that you are disposed to sell your interest in our Concern & that you will not be in any degree satisfied with any other arrangement. I had long since resolved that I never would purchase your interest in this way, or in any other way except by an equal division, but under all circumstances the mode you propose may lead to a more amicable adjustment, than the one I have already advised through my Uncle, viz. to take my own name after the 1st of May.

I am willing to make the attempt provided you will make the terms & price so that I can accomplish them. To enable you to form a correct estimate as to our affairs I shall be most happy to see you here & to give you every satisfaction as to the state of the Concern, or if you prefer it, I will transmit our balance sheet together with a list of assets. I must remark here that it

will be quite impossible for me to comply with your Bridgeport former conditions viz. to give my own Bond (with a satisfactory surety) that I would pay all the debts of the Concern etc. etc. and that I should give satisfactory endorsed Notes for the Amt. of your interest. I am willing to give my own Bond that I will pay the debts etc. & I will endeavour to arrange satisfactorily for any sum which we may agree upon for your interest in all the concerns & all the property & Debts of the three concerns.

I make these preliminary explanations to avoid delays hereafter, it would be far more agreeable to me, that we should share the responsibilities of outstanding notes & debts equally & I feel very unwilling to take the whole responsibility but as I have before remarked I am willing to make sacrifices if we can only adjust our difficulties & at least live in comparative peace. It is very easy to see that I could give more for your interests if the responsibilities were shared than I could do when obliged to guarantee your proportion, as it is quite clear that you are more responsible & will be if our concern is dissolved in any other way.

You will please say whether I may expect you here or whether I shall send you the papers, in the hope that you will receive this communication, in the same spirit which has dictated it, I am, Yr Son

WM. W. DE FOREST.

The matter simmered until the following July, when Wheeler made a visit to his father in Bridgeport, during which they presumably talked over a possible settlement. Then Mr. de Forest and his devoted wife undertook a trip to New York, the

Bridgeport first, apparently, that they had made since they left there about three years before. While there the father went to the store in South Street every day. and he and Wheeler took long drives together. The parents met all their married children and their grandchildren and the time passed most pleasantly. On July 23rd — about three years after the quarrel began — Lockwood de Forest wrote to Henry that he and Wheeler had closed up all their partnership affairs and that Wheeler would conduct the business thereafter on his own account. Imagine the tears and the heartfelt thanks which Lockwood and Mehetabel offered up now that the nightmare was ended and the "delusion" over!

> One of their daughters, too, made a touching allusion to the long, sad struggle in a letter she wrote many years later to her brother Henry: "You ask me if I am at times conscious of an undue mental excitement, my thoughts resting upon one subject. I have been in that condition — and think I can in a measure realize how great a trial and discipline our dear Father passed through. His release from the delusion seems to me now a sensible manifestation of God's love to him and us - and it would be interesting to know in what way the Spirit led and guided his mind into a state of submissive peacefulness."

> Wheeler was perhaps happier than any one else; he immediately resumed in the family home his

wonted place as eldest and much beloved son. His Bridgeport vounger brother Henry has written an appreciation of Wheeler which is very interesting and touching and might be included in this place:—

My brother Wheeler had blue eyes like our father's, a thin beard & became bald at forty. He was rather under the average size, but not a small man & up to the age of seventy was very active on his feet. The early sea life which he had experienced contributed greatly to invigorate his constitution. He had remarkable nervous power, was perfectly fearless of personal danger, always too ready for an encounter when attacked or threatened, & I never heard of his coming off second best!...

Wheeler was not a member of any church. . . . But I feel confident that he was a sincere believer. . . . His faults were those of an impulsive nature. He regretted them & strove to square his life by Christian rules. He was upright as he was enterprising, & always maintained the reputation of an honorable merchant. He was beloved by his inferiors, & no one would more readily stand up for the weak & defenceless than he. He had our mother's intuitive insight, & rarely made a mistake in his judgment of men. . . . I do not recollect a single instance where he erred in his estimate. He was very quick to resent an injury, but eminently forgiving, & revenge was no part of his nature. If he felt that he had injured anyone, he could not rest till he had made it right by explanation or apology. . . .

Daniel Lord, as well as Wheeler, was now reinstated in Mr. de Forest's good graces and wrote to

Bridgeport another member of the family: "I made a visit to Bridgeport and had quite a pleasant time. Your father & I most fortunately agreed on every matter which we happened to talk about."

So peace reigned once more in the family.

Brother William and Sister Betsey, as well as all the sons and daughters, rejoiced over the termination of the quarrel. Sister Betsey had been left at Bridgeport to look after the house and the younger children during the absence of the parents in New York. When Betsey was thus left alone her sister Abby — "Aunt Lewis" — usually came to keep her company and help her in the household.

A few further words regarding this gentle Aunt Lewis may not be uninteresting. She was, as we know, four years older than her brother Lockwood. She was considered a sort of saint by some of the younger generation. After Mrs. Skinner and her family went to live in Fairfield. Aunt Lewis for a long time made her home with them. She had rather weak eyes and the children had to read aloud to her. which they considered somewhat of a penance, especially as they were always expected to read serious or even "pious" books. It was the especial duty of Mrs. Skinner's daughter Mary to read the "Missionary Herald" to Aunt Lewis, and the latter never allowed her to skip a single word, not even an advertisement. Little Mary would read on and on till she thought she should go crazy.

As the children grew older, they became inter- Bridgeport ested in reading novels to each other, among others, "The Last Days of Pompeii." Aunt Lewis happened to come into the room while this was going on and became much absorbed. After dinner was the time for her nap, but just as the reading was resumed. in came Aunt Lewis, saying, to the great amusement of the girls, "I must hear how she gets out of his clutches"!

She loved to tell the children stories of her girlhood, of the old times in New Stratford, when all the girls that were "of any account" made their own sheets and other household linen and had it ready and marked before they were eighteen years old in anticipation of getting married. When asked if she also had done this, she always replied emphatically, "Yes, indeed I did, and so did my sisters."

When in 1845 Mrs. Skinner left Fairfield and moved to New Haven, Aunt Lewis went to live in Bridgeport with her half-brother, Charles, and his second wife, and was with them for the last years of her life. She died in Bridgeport in 1857, aged eightyseven years.

Aunt Lewis was certainly peculiar. Among other things, she always disliked the music of the piano, and when it interrupted her devotions she said that she had rather hear thunder. She was very particular, also, about her bed and bedding and could never endure springs or modern bedsteads, but until

Lockwood de Forest

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Bridgepore the time of her death used her old low-post, corded bedstead with its straw bed, feather bed, valance, plaid homespun blankets, and the linen sheets of her girlhood.

> At the time of her death she left thirty pairs of these precious sheets (all marked with tiny red cross-stitch letters, half with "A" for Abby and half with "P" for Polly) to the sister-in-law with whom she then lived, and at the same time left to her dear sister Betsev her treasured "fashionable" silver teaspoons and her six "old fashioned, coffin shaped" ones.

> Both Aunt Lewis and Aunt Betsey could always be counted on to help in the de Forest household, and their services were greatly needed in October, 1836, when their brother Lockwood's youngest daughter, Louisa, the only one left at home, was married to Mr. Samuel M. Woodruff. Henry's father wrote to him, "It was rather a grave dignified & solemn time, than a merry and trifling one." Fred's account was in quite another key: -

> I suppose you will like to know how Louisa was married. I will now tell you as much as I remember althoug you must not laugh if I do not make good grammar

> Louisa was married in mothers room The room was cleaned out and the bedstead was taken down. Some of the cake was made in Fairfield By Diana but the best was made to home by Cousin Mary Lockwood and Mother. Louisa was dressed in a whitish sateen dress

with straight sleeves like a man and a pocethandker- Bridgeport chief in her hand that they said cost fifty dollars. Just as the doors was opened Louisa burst out a laughing but stoped in about two or three seconds. After Mr. Hewitt had done talking Mr. Woodruff kissed Louisa.

Wheeler's description was again different:—

I was sorry not to meet you at the wedding, but you did not lose much, it was on the whole more like a conference meeting than a wedding. The joke was they wanted me to sing for their amusement, "The Burial of Sir John Moore," which I did not consider exactly appropriate.

After the wedding the family were thoroughly tired out, and Aunt Betsey, upon whom much of the burden had fallen, was sent to New York to visit some of her relatives for a week to get a little rest and vacation. Uncle William apparently went with her. They must have belonged quite noticeably to the class of "country cousins," especially Uncle William. He declined to eat with a silver fork, saying, "Take it away, I had just as lief eat with a baby's paw." After that a three-tined steel fork was always kept in the house for his especial use. After his return to Bridgeport his family were much amused to find in his pockets a large collection of buttons, pins, strings, etc., which he had picked up in the streets of New York. As for Aunt Betsey, her principal amusement was going to church.

Bridgeport

In February, 1837, Lockwood too started on a journey, going into a part of the country then quite unknown to him. He went to Washington to see the inauguration of President Van Buren. He was two days continuously in the stage-coach and during this time the weather was stormy and the roads terribly bad. When they came to the Susquehanna, sledloads of passengers were drawn across the river, three men pulling each load, as the ice would not hold horses. No wonder our traveller pronounced it "tedious and hazardous."

Of Washington he said, "Aside from the Public buildings Washington is not much of a place, not being a place of any business except what grows out of its being the seat of Congress." He had interviews with both the new and old presidents and heard most of the great men of the nation speak in debate. It was altogether an interesting visit.

After his return home he had to devote his attention to the management of his two younger sons, Jim and Fred. They were not bad in any way but very full of mischief and difficult to control. The father wrote regarding them, "I fear our boys do not learn much, they spend all the time they can steal sliding down hill." Once they both ran away from school but the father promptly whipped them and sent them back. As for the mother, a member of the family once said, "She never spoke a cross

word to her children, although the younger boys Bridgeport acted like Old Harry."

Henry, who was still at Amherst, did not give so much trouble as his vounger brothers, but he was not perfect either. At one time a letter was received speaking of his "neglect of duty after many notices and warnings." The family were panic-stricken: they almost felt as if Henry were lost forever. Uncle William besought him by the affection he held for his father and mother to do everything that would promote his best good. His sister Louisa wrote that she feared the consequences of these irregularities on her dear mother's health, that her mother had said, "If Henry should be sent home from college it would almost break your father's and my hearts." and that her "tears and anguish" were most pathetic. His father bade him consider himself "a delinquent" and said that his conduct was "subversive to the best good of the student, the best interest of the College, and of a solemn and important duty due to Parents and Guardians." Poor Henry! He was not the only boy who had ever occasioned a "letter home."

He was exceedingly anxious to have charge of his own funds. His father wrote to him:—

Altho generally a dangerous thing to entrust money with young men in your situation, I am aware that there are exceptions — and I would fain hope that you are one. . . . Could you assure yourself of sufficient skill

Lockwood de Forest

Bridgeport prudence & calculation, to appropriate it judiciously & economically — to send home to me a monthly account in detail of your expenditures, and the exact state of your Bank account - together with an estimate of required expenses for the month next ensuing - I don't know but I might think it expedient to make the experiment — for I well know that prudent young men derive great benefit from making their own bargains & laying out funds themselves.

> Ten days later the father sent Henry \$80 with further injunctions, urging on him not to lend money; for it was not his for such a purpose, and he could always get off when applied to, on this plea.

> With regard to the accuracy of the accounts the father was also very particular, as may be seen by a later note: -

> According to your statement you had from home \$85 - Your traveling expense & bill paid, you foot \$74.45 leaving a balce. in hand you say of about \$2.50 — but I should say 10.55 — exactly — however there may be more science in College Mathematics, than I am aware of. . . .

> I call your attention to these things, not because I think you are very extravagant but to shew that you dont figure correctly....

> You say you can certainly get to the end of the term with \$20 — But willing you should have some in your pocket — I send you annexed a Check on the Bank here for \$30.

> On the whole, Henry stood in good favor after this. His father commented on the excellent reports

received and expressed a trust that he would be Bridgeport "an honour to the name — as a Man, a Scholar & a Christian." The mother, although her husband assured Henry that she had not a leisure moment in which to write, found time to send him a little letter. "I understand that your improvement is remarked by others, but — be not vain," said she.

Wheeler, who was always so much interested in Henry's improvement, wrote many letters of good advice, from which some extracts are here given.

1836, Dec. 1. Your handwriting is certainly very fair for a Scholar, but I wish you would improve it as one of these days I may be glad to see you perhaps as De Forest & Brother, which would make a good title to go by.

1836, Dec. 26 (concerning an Honor). In all situations of life there is nothing so well calculated to promote a man's temporal welfare as unceasing, persevering industry, & a thorough knowledge of the business in which he is engaged, & it must be apparent to you that these habits of industry so essential to his prosperity are best formed in early life. If, therefore, the obtaining an honor is productive of no other good — it will be at all events the means of keeping up your ambition & your industry & I am sure you must admit that he who possesses these in an eminent degree stands the best chance of becoming not only an honorable, but also prosperous member of society . . . if you get no honor this time, be sure you get one next.

1837, Mar. 3. I do not much wonder that you feel rather melancholy at the outset of the term, but this

Bridgeport must vanish when you are once fairly at work; there is nothing so agreeable to me as constant employment. particularly if I am to derive a benefit from it. Now your benefit is certain & the remuneration depends on vourself.

> I approve of your ideas as to the Law. It is the profession of all others that I should prefer, but to succeed in this profession you must have your head well lined, not only with Law, but with every other class of learning to make the law available. One thing I consider of the greatest importance, it is that you should begin early to make choice of the very best language, not only in writing, but in conversation, avoiding the local terms & Americanisms which pervade our language at the present day, you will enjoy great advantages not only in obtaining but in prosecuting your profession, as your connection is extensive & influential.

> I hope to leave this for Europe in course of the summer, & should be delighted to take you along if your education was completed.

> 1838, Feb. 2. No man, woman or Boy can have good health & a proper use of his mental faculties, without exercise in the open air . . . I hold that a man had better be a common sawyer of wood, or a carrier of water, with half enough to eat & good health, than to have the wealth of the Indies without it . . . come what will, take your exercise every day, rain or shine...

> If you have a master take Dancing lessons. If not, take boxing or fencing, if there is neither then Box among yourselves, but mind, don't get angry, if you do you will get thrashed as no one can box who cannot keep cool, quite cool.

Wheeler's health was not at this time so good as Bridgeport it had been. He had always worked very hard and his eyes now troubled him so that it was almost impossible for him to use them. He therefore decided to take a holiday in Europe and as a travelling companion took with him a gentleman who was in the habit of reading aloud to him. They sailed on July 8, 1838, remaining abroad over a year, when Wheeler returned very much improved in health.

During Wheeler's absence he wrote to Henry about the importance of a knowledge of foreign languages. "Let me entreat you to improve your present advantages, the world has grown so wise that a young man must know a great deal, & be thoroughly educated to maintain a decent standing among men that are full grown, &, among other things, do not fail to learn French, without this no man can pass muster. I know just enough of the language to experience the mortification of not knowing more. Without French no young man can appear in society on the Continent, but with English and French you may go where you like, but I find almost all the educated men of the present day, know German also, & it is very easy to learn any language after knowing Greek & Latin — so, push on, my dear Boy, & do not permit yourself to rest until you know French."

This letter arrived in the fall of 1838, when Henry was recovering from an attack of typhus fever, with

Bridgepore which he had been ill for a long time. His father and mother went up to Amherst to be with him, but his recovery was slow. He was finally able to return to Bridgeport for the New Year holiday. There he read Shakespeare aloud to some of his cousins, much to his own pleasure as well as theirs. He found his father in very good spirits and they got on remarkably well together. What followed will be told in Henry's own words: "Relying upon my good behaviour & confident that my request would be granted. I asked him to make me a New Year's present of Shakspeare. But the old gentleman stared most exceeding hard at me, & advised me rather to employ myself in the regular College studies than meddle with such works as Shakspeare's. This reply forcibly reminded me of an anathema thundered out against the same author by a certain rigid Puritan. 'To Tophet with his wicked book, and to the Vale of Rimmon with his accursed bones.' I really believe that Father would rather Shakspeare had never lived, but here I can't agree with him."

> While recording all these happenings, we must not forget a very important one, the birth on January 8, 1838, of Louisa's little son. Louisa was herself the youngest daughter and had always been a great pet, and so when her son was born, she promptly named him after her father. None of Lockwood de Forest's grandchildren had ever been named for



PORTRAIT OF LOCKWOOD DE FOREST, 1838, PROBABLY BY SAMUEL WALDO
Owned by Samuel Downer



him, and he was immensely pleased. He gave the Bridgeport boy "\$100., a silver cup, &c.," and he and his wife immediately began to plan a visit to Albany to see Louisa and the new little Lockwood. Such a trip was not, however, to be lightly undertaken. It meant fatiguing journeys in stage-coaches and was not so simple a matter as to get in the gig and, driving Peacock and Pedlar, go over to Fairfield to see Marv.

Lockwood, though always fond of horses, showed less judgment in purchasing them than did his son Wheeler. After Peacock and Pedlar, his first span, had ceased, for some reason, to be satisfactory, there came a succession of others, all giving Mr. de Forest more or less trouble and anxiety. Jim, who was always a horse lover, once wrote to Henry: "A short time after you went away one of the vellow, big. twin horses got lame, and the other had the blind staggers and Father seeing a span of blacks took them on trial. . . . One of these black horses had a large swelling on one of his fore legs. Well! Father took a liking to the sound black horse, so he swaped Uncle's horse for him, and gave something for him to boot. So you see Father has three horses, but not a pair that he could use. Well! one day he saw two horses very much alike; they were white, with blue-black spots, and long white tails & manes what you call real beauties. He bought them and increased his number to five, and he is now on the

Lockwood de Forest

Bridgeport lookout for a mate for the black. The black is a three minute horse and as you might know he has a sore tail, having been nicked."

Sometimes Mr. de Forest found good horses in Bridgeport, even "three minute horses," and sometimes he was seen in New York on Broadway—surely not a possible locality for such an exhibition nowadays—watching a showy pair as they were driven up and down before him to show off their fine points and their good gaits.

He bought a good pair of light bays, twins, and sent them to a Mr. Frink at Amherst to be trained and to have their tails docked. Mr. Frink kept them a long time and then sent word through Henry that the ends of their tails "stuck up" and that one of them kicked! Mr. de Forest was in a state of great exasperation but left the horses with Mr. Frink a little longer, hoping that the tails would become less aspiring. When the pair were returned to Bridgeport, their owner was even more irate. They were very thin. On weighing them, he found that they had actually lost two hundred and five pounds during the four weeks of their absence; "4 lbs. of flesh a day on each horse," said Mr. de Forest, who thought that they could hardly have been more reduced and vet have been kept alive. He said that he was ashamed to have them seen. Soon after he decided to sell them for what they would bring him.



PORTRAIT OF MRS. LOCKWOOD DE FOREST, ABOUT 1838
BY WALDO AND JEWETT
Owned by Robert W. de Forest



But he was thoroughly satisfied with the pair Bridgeport of white and black spotted horses. He called them "The Leopards," and wrote, "They are a dead match & really beautiful. They are of Arabian breed — white with promiscuous blue-black spots - long white tails, both handsome & fine travellers." Mr. de Forest had grown to be fond of a certain amount of show, though he would probably not have acknowledged that this was true, and so he felt that he must get something very fine to match the Leopards. He therefore bought a white sleigh, the front runners of which terminated in swans' heads, and filled it with white fur robes. In this turnout, which was considered wonderfully elegant, driving his white Leopards with the promiscuous blue-black spots and long tails, he used to go about the country enjoying very much the sensation which he created but without in any way showing that he did so.

In the summer of 1840 Henry graduated very creditably from Amherst, and according to his strongly expressed desire, went in September, 1840, to New Haven to take a course in the Law School there. He was joined by his nephew, Daniel D. Lord, and they had great pleasure in studying together. Meanwhile both Jim and Fred, following Henry's example, went to Amherst.

Up to this time Lockwood had not had any apparent interest in preserving family records, but his

Bridgepon visit to his two aged relatives a few years before probably turned his thoughts in this direction and in 1838 he decided to buy a Family Bible and to inscribe therein all the data which he could collect. Without these valuable records how few of the old dates should we now be able to verify and yet how we wish that he had written more fully! One page is devoted to items relating to the de Forest family and one to those of the Wheeler family. Then follow the records of births, marriages, and deaths in his personal family.

> On the first page of all he wrote a very fine exhortation to his descendants, which is here copied verbatim.

> With a view to secure this Bible, and my family record contained in it, in the possession of my male descendants to the latest possible period — I do hereby bequeath it to my eldest son who shall be living at my decease, to be handed down from one eldest male descendant to another, as they shall successively decease, as long as my male lineal descendants shall exist.

> And I earnestly enjoin it upon each of them, into whose possession this book may come as above provided, to insert in it, his own family record, extending it as far as may be to the families of his brethren.

> And firmly believing it myself to be the infallible word of God, and its precepts and doctrines to be divinely inspired, I do affectionately and solemnly enjoin it upon each and all of them, to make its divine instructions, precepts and doctrines, their only safe and sufficient rule of Faith and practice, as long as they

Family Ties

live. And may God add his blessing to me and to my Bridgeport household, to my children and my childrens children, to their latest posterity, for our great Redeemers sake Amen.

Bridgeport 28th June 1838. LOCKWOOD DE FOREST.

Mr. de Forest kept up these family records till the time of his death, his sons did the same as long as any of them still lived, and the book is now in the possession of his grandson, Robert W. de Forest, the "eldest male descendant" of Lockwood de Forest who is now living. The records have been continued as accurately as possible, but the family circle has enlarged to such proportions that some vears ago it was deemed advisable hereafter to continue only the records of those bearing the name of de Forest — "the families of his brethren," as Lockwood de Forest put it.

Early in the winter of 1840 Mr. de Forest and his wife paid another long visit to New York and before they returned to Bridgeport authorized Wheeler to find a house for them, the father having come to a "full determination to establish there" and the mother having "fixed her heart upon it" - a rather characteristic difference in their way of viewing things.

Apparently the project of the Housatonic Railroad had been weighing rather too heavily upon Mr. de

Lockwood de Forest

Bridgeport Forest, who was "completely infatuated," as one of his sons said, and Wheeler had at last persuaded him to "give over the railroad," hoping that he would then "keep clear of the Philistines," as he called the projectors of the road. This may have been one reason why the family was so anxious to persuade the father to move away from Bridgeport.

Peaceful Days at Last

New York

A whole year went by before the right dwelling in New York was found, but on February 1, 1841, Lockwood de Forest finally purchased a house, No. 13 St. Mark's Place, then a fashionable locality. The property included one twenty-five foot lot on St. Mark's Place and two lots to the south facing on Seventh Street, which gave the family space for a lovely garden. For all this Mr. de Forest paid a little over \$15,000. He was evidently attracted to this neighborhood because his daughter, Jane Wakeman, lived on the opposite side of St. Mark's Place.

The alterations in the house offered a new outlet for Mr. de Forest's activity. It had a "tea room" in the rear of the first floor, which he altered into a library, constructing a bathroom in connection with it. A new bedroom was added above the library, and in the basement was installed "a cook-

¹ St. Mark's Place was the continuation of Eighth Street beyond Third Avenue. It was renumbered the next year, when No. 13 became No. 22.



THE FRONT DOOR OF 22 ST. MARK'S PLACE



ing oven like Downer's." The building was also New York painted throughout, and when finished was pronounced a beautiful and convenient house.

The Bridgeport property was then offered for sale, and Mr. de Forest with his family moved to St. Mark's Place in April, 1841. At this time almost all of his children lived in the city: his sons Wheeler and George each in his own house; his daughters — Mrs. Lord, Mrs. Downer, Mrs. Wakeman, Mrs. Baldwin, and Mrs. Edwards — all had their homes in New York; and Henry rejoined his father and mother when he left New Haven a month or two later. The only ones who were not in the city were Mrs. Skinner, who still lived at Fairfield; Mrs. Woodruff, who was at Albany; and James, then at Amherst College.

The family circle at St. Mark's Place at first consisted, therefore, of Mr. and Mrs. de Forest, Henry, Fred, and their Aunt Betsev de Forest. Aunt Betsev. however, was not much longer to continue with them. She had had a happy home in her brother's family for nearly twenty-three years; and when she died, on October 29, 1841, she left a void which no one else could quite fill. She was buried in Bridgeport, the town which was endeared to her by so many associations. The funeral was simple, but a record has been kept of all the items, from the cost of the "barouches" which met the steamboat on its arrival from New York and carried the family New York to the cemetery, down to the fifty cents which was given to the bell-ringer.

The day before her death Aunt Betsey had made her will, naming her nephews Wheeler and Henry as executors of her small estate of only about \$600. She directed them to pay all her debts, to invest the residue of her property, and to give the interest or dividends therefrom "punctually as they shall accrue" to her "dear sister Abby Lewis." This Henry did "punctually" every six months until the latter's death in 1857.

Dear Aunt Betsey! Her life had been one of selfsacrifice and loving devotion. The joy of doing for others had been hers in abundance.

The house in St. Mark's Place must have been lonely for Mrs. de Forest without her sister-in-law, with whom she had worked hand in hand for so many years. Mehetabel, although still young in her feelings, was getting to be an elderly lady. In 1843, when she was sixty-six years old, she went to Fairfield to visit her daughter Mary. One of her grand-daughters then wrote the following tender and lovely description of her: "I must send a line by Grandma. As usual, we are sorry, very sorry to have her go. We have all enjoyed her charming society and she, I am sure, has enjoyed herself too. It would have done you good to see her trotting round the garden to pick flower seeds, now and then stopping underneath the grape vine to eat grapes and

look around and say, 'how beautiful it is here,' or New York seated over a large basket of stockings, singing in a low sweet voice, 'oh! for a closer walk with God.' She has seemed unusually calm and happy, and her presence, like the fragrance of a flower, has filled the air with sweetness. It has certainly left a delightful

impression upon me, and I only regret that I cannot

convey it clearly to you."

The devotion of her children was beautiful. Wheeler was very careful of her and was ever afraid lest she should tire or hurt herself. She had alwavs been very active and even when quite an old lady would insist on climbing upon chairs in order to reach things on the upper shelves in her closets. Wheeler, finding her thus engaged, would beg her to come down, saving, "Mother, you really must get down. It is not safe for you to stand on chairs like this." When nothing else would avail, he would say. "Mother, if you don't get down I shall begin to swear," whereupon she would instantly descend. He had certain stock phrases which were always effective. For instance, when he found her going up or down the steep back stairs, which he thought dangerous for her, he would threaten, "Mother, if you go up and down those stairs I won't read a chapter in my Bible for a month." Several people remember the happy little tune which she always hummed as she ran upstairs — perhaps even up those same back stairs.

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New York

Her son George was like a lover with her, coming to see her for half an hour in the morning on his way down town and letting nothing ever interfere with this daily visit. While there he always threaded for her use about twenty needles, leaving them sticking in a cushion, so that she might never have to pause in her work because of her inability to thread her needle.

Henry once wrote thus of his early memories of her: "Can I forget the home of my childhood?... Did I love my mother? Did I recognize her love to me as a child beaming forth from those lustrous loving eyes?"

After Mrs. de Forest became somewhat deaf, she used to say, "Sometimes I answer yes and sometimes no, but although I do not always hear what they say I do not know that I really miss much."

By her grandchildren she was adored.¹ She had many winning ways, such as stowing away little packages of simple seed cakes, and producing them at the right moment, also telling entrancing stories beginning, "When I was a little girl." Besides, on New Year's Day she gave to each grandchild a one dollar gold piece, which she always enjoined upon him to put in the bank.

But the little children were not the only ones to

¹ At the time of her death Mrs. de Forest had had as many as forty-five grandchildren and twenty-seven great-grandchildren.

whom she gave pleasure. She had many relatives New York still living in the Connecticut hill country, some not so happily provided with this world's goods as she now was, and she was always thinking of something kind and nice which she could do for them. Sometimes it was a niece who was to be married and Mehetabel would have her come to St. Mark's Place for a fortnight in order that her niece might buy her wedding clothes in New York. A young half-sister was often invited to pay her long visits; and knowing that her guest would need a nice dress for such occasions, the elder lady would send her \$100, which on one of these times was expended on a most magnificent "black brocade watered silk." A young sister-in-law — so young that she called Mrs. de Forest "Aunt de Forest" - became somewhat reduced in circumstances and set up a millinery establishment in Bridgeport. "Aunt de Forest" and Louisa Woodruff, her youngest daughter, were most kind to her in every way. They would have her stay with them for a fortnight at a time, making all their hats, and Mehetabel also told her to come to the house in St. Mark's Place whenever she needed to come to New York to buy materials. When Aunt Lewis became infirm, Mrs. de Forest provided an attendant and many little luxuries. She never forgot her old home or those who were less fortunate than she was.

It is pleasant to dwell on all these bright, happy

New York pictures, for the time of Mehetabel's separation from the companion of so many years was drawing near. when she was to be left alone save for the loving care of her children.

> These children were beginning even now to gather more closely around her. The year after Sister Betsey left Lockwood and Mehetabel, their daughter, Jane Wakeman, with her family moved across from the other side of the street and for several years lived with her father and mother. In 1846, when Jane went to a house of her own. Louisa Woodruff (the voungest of Lockwood's seven daughters) came down from Albany with her husband and her father's namesake, "Little Lock," to make her home permanently with her parents.

> It was a great joy for Mrs. de Forest to have Louisa with her again and also to have Wheeler live nearby. Soon after his father moved to New York, Wheeler had taken a house at 13 Fifth Avenue, and there he loved to entertain all the family, especially his nephews and nieces. One nephew wrote of Uncle Wheeler's giving a "blow-out" and on another occasion of his having invited all the family to dine; "they had a great 'kick-up,'" said the nephew, which sounds as if the entertainment had been more hilarious than those given by Wheeler's father. Once Wheeler took all his nieces to the theatre. "I intend," said he, "to take all the younger branches of the feminine gender to hear



PORTRAIT OF WHEELER DE FOREST, ABOUT 1855 Owned by Robert W. de Forest

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Mr. & Mrs. Wood tomorrow evening at the City New York Hotel.... I expect to make considerable of a sensation, or rather I expect my troop will." He was always devoted to the ladies of the family and at least once during his European absence wrote to all his sisters to select dresses for themselves as a gift from him, which, as a nephew put it, "was very genteel of him."

Wheeler never married, though it is rather difficult to understand why not. "He was a favorite with the other sex. His fine animal spirits, his great vivacity, quick repartee, off-hand manner, merry laugh, & facility of adapting himself to persons of every variety of temperament & culture made him as popular with women as with men, & I venture to say that no man who ever lived in New York City had more friends among men & women both than Wheeler de Forest....

"He had always been extravagantly fond of horses, and was a fine horseman & a most expert driver. It was his habit for many years to drive down town to his business & back again, & it was interesting to accompany him & see how many saluted him. 'There goes Wheeler de Forest,' you would hear from many a pedestrian as he passed."

It was said that such was his skill that he could drive up or down town more rapidly than any one else, and he liked to scare his women relatives by the hair-breadth chances which he took, and then

New York to laugh at them, saying that he "only needed a space as large as a dinner plate in which to turn around with a horse and buggy." Horses were his one extravagance.

When he went abroad in 1838 he spent money on himself more liberally than before and on his return brought with him, among other things, an interesting and valuable relic. This was a jewelled snuff-box which had been presented by Napoleon I to one of his marshals. There were three large, handsome diamonds on the lid of the box, and Wheeler had the largest one reset as a shirt pin for himself. After his death this diamond came to his brother Henry and the "de Forest diamond" has since descended to Henry's eldest grandson. The antiquarian members of the de Forest family wish, however, that the snuff-box might have been left as it was!

Wheeler at another time had the opportunity to purchase an historic building in New York City. He and two others in 1852 bought the Mercantile Exchange building, the former Custom House, on the south side of Wall Street, for \$805,000. The same day the New York Exchange Company (of which the three owners were members) was organized to hold this property. During the early days of the Civil War (1862) this building was leased to the United States Government for three years as a treasury. The Government was also given an option to purchase it for \$1,000,000 at any time before the



MERCHANTS' EXCHANGE, WALL STREET
Owned in 1852 by W. Wheeler de Forest and two others



expiration of the lease. Just before the lease expired, New York in April, 1865 (when gold was at a premium of 146), the Government exercised its option but paid the \$1,000,000 in paper. It would have taken \$2,460,000 in paper to have equalled the sum mentioned in gold. Wheeler always considered this a mean trick on the part of the Government.

He was exceedingly generous with his money, but though he had a fortune of \$3,000,000 at the time of his death, he often said to Henry, "I could be a happy man if I lost all I had, & was left with only a shirt! I should take pleasure in making my fortune over again."

As may be inferred from all that has been said already, Wheeler and his brother Henry were devoted to each other, although they were separated in age by twenty-six years; and as the time for Henry's leaving the Yale Law School drew near, they both looked forward with ever-increasing pleasure to the days when they should live once more in the same place and be able to see each other at will.

When Henry left New Haven in the fall of 1841 he rejoined his parents at St. Mark's Place, and having fully determined to become a lawyer, entered without delay the law office of his brother-in-law, Daniel Lord, Jr., there to spend the next two years in preparatory study. There was no law school in New York at this period and many young men acquired

New York their training in Mr. Lord's office. Some of Henry's fellow-students were William M. Evarts, James G. King, Jr., John Taylor Johnston, and Daniel D. Lord, the last two having been at the law school in New Haven with him.

> In the spring of 1844 Henry, although without a dollar of his own, determined to be no longer dependent upon his father but to start out on his own account. His father offered to advance him money and he finally borrowed \$500 to buy absolutely necessary law books. From the beginning he made his way, slowly but surely; after the first year he took an office in the Mercantile Exchange building with James G. King, Jr., and John A. Weekes. Through the latter Henry made a new and very important acquaintanceship — with John's sister Julia —and before many months passed they were engaged to be married.

> Henry was at this time earning about \$1,000 a year. His father proposed to lend him what he needed to enable him to marry, but Henry knew that any advance would be charged against his share of his father's estate and declined, though it gave him a feeling of security to know that his father stood back of him. The early training that Henry had received from his father stood him in good stead at this time. "He had trained me to have the greatest aversion to being in debt and always to pay a bill promptly on its presentation. And though I had but



ST. JOHN'S CHAPEL-IN-THE-FIELDS, 1821. ENGRAVED BY
W. D. SMITH FROM A DRAWING BY A. J. DAVIS
From "The New York Mirror," 1829



a few hundred dollars of my own at my marriage I New York never was under the necessity of violating his rules. I determined to live within my income and always did, and paid 'as I went.'"

Wheeler, who was always ready to step forward when he could help any of his relatives, owned a comfortable little house at 80 Charles Street, just north of Bleecker Street and opposite the fine old farm of Abram Van Nest. He offered to rent this to Henry and Julia at a modest sum and they were only too glad to accept. Charles Street is in Greenwich Village and the house stood within a stone's throw of the one which Lockwood de Forest had occupied when he first came to New York.

Finally the all-important day — April 15, 1847 arrived, and Henry, in telling the story of it, again gives some lovely touches regarding his dear mother. "My mother came up into my room the morning of my wedding day, & told me that I had been a good son & wished me happiness. She went about the room as if she wished to put it in order, to conceal her emotion."

The ceremony took place in St. John's Chapel, facing St. John's Park. Of course Lockwood de Forest was present; and though he undoubtedly gave the bride his blessing, there is fortunately no record of his having frightened her as he frightened another little bride in the family that same year. She, little Mary, had just been married to a mis-

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New York signary and was going with him to far-away Africa. Just as she was leaving, her grandfather rose to his full height and stretching out his hands above her. pronounced this parting benediction: "The blessing of the God of Abraham and of Isaac and of Iacob rest upon you." He was so very tall and so very impressive that poor little Mary, whose heart was overfull already, came very near breaking down. And vet what a splendid patriarchal benediction it was!

> A period of failing health now began for Lockwood de Forest; he had heart trouble and he knew that he could not live much longer. The summer of 1848, the last summer of his life, he and his wife spent with their beloved daughter Mary, then living in New Haven.

This year was one of ever-increasing weakness, and at last it became evident that the end was not far off. Lockwood was then seventy-three years old and he was prepared to go. His family Bible had long been in readiness, with the earnest exhortation to his children inscribed therein. His restingplace was ready in Greenwood Cemetery. He had made his will — a just and very simple will. After bequeathing a few legacies to relatives and societies, he left the Bridgeport house and a sufficient income to his wife, and divided his residuary estate between his twelve children, giving four parts to each of his five sons and three parts to each of his seven daughters. Everything was in order, he was at



SILHOUETTE OF LOCKWOOD DE FOREST, SARATOGA
JULY 24, 1843
Cut by August Edouart

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peace with his fellow-man and with heaven, he had New York no wish to stay.

During the latter part of his illness he derived especial comfort from the Shorter Catechism. His mind was perfectly clear to the last, and on the very day of his death, November 29, 1848, as he sat propped up in bed, he tried to repeat the questions and answers. Turning to one of his daughters he asked, "What is God?" When she attempted to give the answer, he said, "That is not right — get the book."

Shortly afterward Lockwood de Forest passed away.

To understand and appreciate this man one must go back over all that he had accomplished in his seventy-three years of life. A simple country lad with the scantiest education, he had married at so extremely youthful an age that that fact alone with the ever-increasing burden of many children might have prevented his rising. Without business experience and with no one to help him, he had had the ambition and courage to face the untried and the unknown in the hope of bettering his condition. Even when he moved to New York with his family of nine children, he had accumulated only \$7,000 or \$8,000, and yet in a comparatively few years he rose to be one of New York's foremost merchants.

Of his large family 1 it is noteworthy that all the

¹ For an account of Lockwood's children see Appendix, p. 307.

New York children except Wheeler married and that none turned out badly - which is saying a good deal for twelve grown children. For these blessings, however, we must give a great deal of credit to the children's gentle mother. We have suggested that Lockwood's children feared rather than loved him when they were young. This is undoubtedly true, vet Henry in writing of him in later years said, "Did I not love my noble upright father when I came to understand and know him?"

> Lockwood de Forest had faults, indeed very great ones, but they were those of a strong, insistent man, a man who had had to force his own way and whose success in the world had come largely through these same forceful characteristics. Let us not judge him harshly.

> After the death of her husband Mrs. de Forest continued to live in St. Mark's Place. Louisa and her family were still with her, as was Fred. Before long Wheeler bought the house from his father's executors and made it his home also. Thus the family group remained until 1854. In that year, Wheeler, who, as we have said, had become a wealthy man according to the standards of those days, bought a large and handsome house, No. 268 Fifth Avenue, on the northwest corner of Thirtieth Street. Here he moved his venerable mother and those who had been with her in St. Mark's Place, and for a number

Peaceful Days at Last

of years they all lived together very handsomely, New York entertaining a great deal and inviting various members of the family to visit them.

In 1863, however, Mehetabel's health began to fail. She had led a useful and, on the whole, a happy life; in the words of Cotton Mather, she had been "edified and beautified with many children," but she was now in her eighty-seventh year and her family could not hold her longer. So, on January 23, 1864, they were all summoned to bid her goodbye. About her stood her twelve children, full "not of gloom but of gratitude for the rich blessing of her long and happy life," and she made to them her last request, "that they should strive earnestly for the conversion of those dear to them and to her."

Then as they waited, enshrouding her with their love, night came on and Mehetabel Wheeler de Forest slipped away to join her lifelong companion.

Bridgeport 38 Sum 1888.

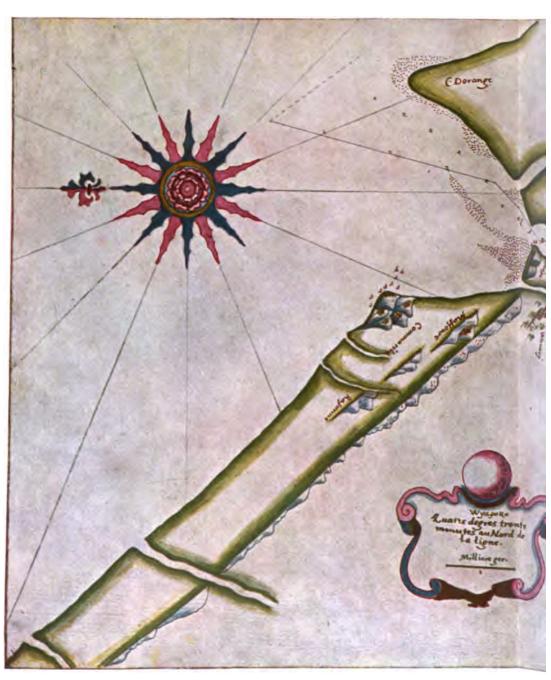
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A Voyage to Guiana

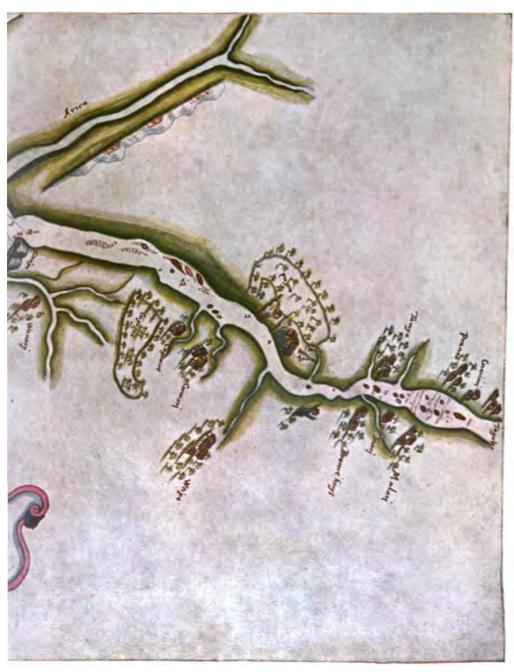
BEING THE JOURNAL OF JESSE DE FOREST AND HIS COLONISTS

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Map of the river wyapoko, reproduced



CED AS IN THE ORIGINAL JOURNAL

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Introduction to the Journal

N the British Museum there has lain for over one hundred and fifty years a manuscript volume, shaped like an old-fashioned copy-book, belonging to the original collection of Sir Hans Sloane, the founder of the Museum. This manuscript is the journal of a voyage of the Dutch ship Pigeon to Guiana in the years 1623-1625, and was written by a member of the ship's company. Under the catalogue heading "Guiana," it has remained, apparently unnoticed, since it first found lodgment in the Museum. Books have been written about early voyages to the "Wild Coast" (as Guiana was then called), but no one of the writers appears to have read of the adventure of Jesse de Forest in 1623. No attention seemingly was paid to our Journal until the end of the nineteenth century. At all events, until this time no mention of it was made by scholars or historians, so far as the present writer has been able to discover. The book slept on, therefore, and the ink faded and faded until its pages are now very difficult to decipher. It was rebound long ago—if indeed it ever had a binding before its present one; but it was even then a very old book. It had a new title-page once, but that too was long ago, for the new title-page is now a specimen of chirography long unused. So the volume lay quietly in the

British Museum as "Sloane MS. 179 b." under the heading "Guiana."

Late in the nineteenth century one public reference was made to the Journal. This was during the dispute about the boundary line between Venezuela and British Guiana, which was finally settled in 1899. In the course of this contention fragments of the manuscript were printed by the British government to prove that a Dutch colony had been established on the Essequibo River in British Guiana before 1624. The settlement of the "Pères de familles," as the members of this colony were called, was alluded to but not Jesse de Forest's connection with the colony; indeed, only such parts of the Journal were printed as were deemed pertinent to the question of the Dutch settlers on the Essequibo.

But quite apart from the allusions to this Dutch settlement there are to be found in the Journal items which are valuable as original historical material. Some of them, for instance, would have served historians as corroborative evidence concerning the disputed date of the earliest settlement of New Amsterdam.¹

Then again, there were students who knew of Jesse de Forest's first colonizing schemes — that is, of his desire to take to Virginia certain colonists whom he had enrolled, and, that plan having proved

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¹ For a detailed treatment of this question see Volume I, pp. 33-34.

inadvisable, of his offering to conduct them to the West Indies under the auspices of the Dutch West India Company.¹ These students were left to wonder whether he ever reached the New World at all and whether he took his colony with him. They searched the old Dutch archives for clues and found none, yet all that time there lay "Sloane MS. 179 b.," which would have given them the desired information.

All these details go to prove the importance of the little old book and the debt that scholars owe to the modern historian, the Rev. George Edmundson, who discovered it and brought it to general notice about 1901, while he was collecting information for articles about the Dutch in Guiana, which he was then writing.² It is therefore not surprising that a modern de Forest should wish to honor the book and by publishing it to disseminate the information it contains.

The volume itself is curious and worthy of description. Each page is 18 inches wide by 11 high, so that when the book is opened it measures 36 inches across. On the title-page it is called "Journal du voyage fait par les Peres de Familles envoyés par

¹ The account of Jesse de Forest's previous efforts at colonization may be read in Chapter 11, pp. 17-23 in Volume I, or in Major J. W. De Forest's book entitled The de Forests of Avesnes.

² See articles on Guiana in English Historical Review, October, 1901; October, 1903; and January, 1904.

A Voyage to Guiana

M¹⁸ les Directeurs de la Compagnie des Indes occidentales pour visiter la coste de Guiane; avec plusieurs remarques curieuses et quantité de planches, tres particulieres." The Journal itself fills the greater part of the volume, which also contains wonderful old maps, charts, and sketches. The text is written in double columns in a rather close, fine handwriting, very much faded and hard to decipher; moreover, it is in quaint old French, which makes it difficult fully to understand the meaning in some places. Then there is the old spelling of words and the misspelling of names, and to add to all these difficulties, "u" and "v" are used interchangeably, as was then the custom.

The maps of the various places visited, which are interspersed among the written pages of the Journal, are beautifully colored. A list of them in the exact form of their legends is here given.

DESCRIPTIONS

Description de la Coste West de la Riuiere des Amazones iusques a Okiari

Description de la Coste de Gujana.

[No heading]

Description de la Riuiere de Wyapoko.

Description de lisle de Cayane.

Description de la Riuiere de Maruyne.

Description de la riviere de Soraname.

COLORED MAPS

Riviere des Amazones.

Coste de Gviane despuis le cap du nord iusques a la riviere d'Eziquebe. Cassipoure.

Wyapoko.

Isle et riviere de Cayane.

Marvini. Soraname.

¹ The title given on the first page of the Journal differs slightly from this in form. See p. 188.

FIRST PAGE OF THE JOURNAL

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Journal du rovage fuid par les porce de jamilles innovest par Mes les Directeurs de la Compagnee des Indes occidentales pour infiter la coste de Gujane

une Mexican Les Divideure de La Compagner de Trans Oreidentelya cardine refolia a l'entres de l'em adminighestione. Donneyer rights be ministed at Management in copy to figures on or your ore eggled by guige my names nomine to Propley in heat to guarante may last for ligit community piche provided in Marking its Junior Inspiren your John in forest you for his by salventions to illes Jugation la Estata office miles in transmiss with most direct physican familler deforting as Mathen my dikte Inden new fine guirthon fugline ongelyne - beaut what Compagner Mine Jours for Metante from low Distribute fromthe walling prime good from to be Sufficient formallen is ingree my working number in god and will some wing land Fift soffwages win la land - 14 11 esporter due mission le livre deller dendure de le 15-Kart offet Longs to Mair Barty to Down Antiones trunking Anterior Blancout, Itym Touben Alengary Poulland Donnight Majore I garg a fille Dagned From a John Mongreit water Mondager for Languals for some to more office for time audust Jeff my guriegt



map of the river wyapoko, reproducto

Introduction to the Journal

Description de la riuiere de Berbice.
[A description of the Essequibo River.
No heading.]

Berbice. Eziquebe.

Description des isles des Caribes.

Isles des Caribes despuis Sainct Vincent iusques a l'isle de l anguillade.

In addition to the above there are a number of sketches showing the outlines of St. Vincent, St. Lucie, Martinique, Dominique, Guadeloupe, Moncerate, Las Nieues, St. Christopher, Eustatius, Saba, Anguillade, and other places as seen from the ship.

All the maps have very elaborate and decorative settings to the titles, while the points of the compass are also intricately drawn and carefully painted. Although, as has been said, the writing of the Journal is badly faded, the coloring of the maps apparently remains as vivid as on the day when the colors were applied. Interesting details are shown on them, as, for instance, the way in which the houses in the settlements along the river banks were built — on high stilts, as it were — so as to be raised above the water when the river overflowed the low land, as often happened.

Four of the maps are reproduced in the present volume — those of the rivers Wyapoko, Cassipoure, and Essequibo, and one of the coast of Guiana from the North Cape to the Essequibo River. The map of the Wyapoko is shown in colors, which are copied as exactly as possible from the original. The outlines of the shores as sketched from the ship are not

particularly interesting, and these, as well as the other "descriptions" of the rivers visited, have been omitted from this volume. The only descriptions here given are of the Essequibo River and of the Wyapoko, on which the colonists settled.

In printing the Journal it was not found advisable to adopt the copy-book form in which the original appears. This has necessitated printing one column on a page instead of two—the English translation facing the French—but in other respects the arrangement of the old document has been followed as closely as possible.

The nautical language found in Defoe's history of Robinson Crusoe, which was written in 1719, has been freely used in the translation as being the nearest approach to the spirit of the seventeenth-century French of the original manuscript.

To summarize the account of the voyage as given in the Journal, Jesse de Forest with his ten pères de familles embarked in the Pigeon at Amsterdam on July 1, 1623, all but three of the pères re-embarked for Holland January 1, 1624, and two of the three who remained in Guiana finally reached Holland again in the Black Eagle on November 16, 1625.²

¹ Now called the Oyapok.

² In Chapter 11, pp. 28-56 of Volume I, is given a detailed narrative of the voyage, for which the Journal furnished the material.

Introduction to the Journal

It is to be regretted that we cannot find the official account of this voyage, but the records of the Amsterdam Chamber of the West India Company, which apparently equipped and sent out the Pigeon, are silent. It was the Zeeland Chamber which despatched the ship on which the colonists returned, and the first volumes of its minutes (1623–1626) unfortunately have long been missing. So we must be content with the account of the expedition as it is given in the Journal.

Jesse de Forest was to be in command of the colonists after they had landed; he was their leader, "our Captain," as they evidently called him. In these modern days we should call the officer in charge of a ship a "Captain," but it is clear that the title in this narrative was given to the leader of the colonists, while the commander of the ship, Pieter Fredericsz, was called "The Master" ("le Maistre de navire"). Even the chief of the Indians at Carippo was called by our colonists the "Captain" of the savages. The only ship's "Captain" mentioned in the Journal was Captain Couast, who was in command of a fleet.

There are many proofs that these assumptions are correct. The Captain never exercised any authority during the voyage except when he and the Pilot obliged the Master to return some clothes which he had taken from the sailors' chests aboard an English ship. The Master and the Pilot had

charts; the Captain evidently had none. He never entertained the friends whom they chanced to meet; it was always the Master who did this. And, finally, it was the Master who on December 27, 1623, asked the colonists one by one if they had found a place to their liking, and when they had said "Yes," told them that according to the orders which he had received from the Directors of the Company, he was to take back to Holland only two of them. It was Jesse the Captain who died on October 22, 1624, and when, on May 23rd of the following year, Gelyn van Stapels arrived with the Flying Dragon to take the colonists back to Holland, van Stapels as commander of that ship was immediately entitled "our Master." As a further proof that Jesse was the man who died in Guiana, we find that after the colonists reached Holland with the news of their Captain's death, Jesse's wife, Marie du Cloux, was spoken of as a widow.

The authorship of the Journal is difficult to determine. The document has been called the "De Forest Journal" and it has been asserted that Jesse de Forest was the scribe, as he naturally would be if he were in command of the colonists, for we must remember that this is the journal of the colonists and not the log of the ship. But the handwriting is certainly not Jesse's; moreover, he died before the Journal was finished; besides, when on December 27, 1623, all but three of the pères de familles had

decided to return to Holland, the writer in speaking of these three said, "Our Captain, Louis le Maire,¹ and I," which clearly shows that the "I," who was at that time the writer, was neither the Captain nor Louis le Maire. Who was "I"? That is the question which we seek to answer.

The Journal was evidently composed by a man of education and ability. Jesse was such a man, but because of his death could not have written the whole Journal. There was also on board a man of ability, Jean Mousnier de la Montagne by name, who had been living in Leyden for some years as a member of its university. He was one of those who in 1621 had signed the original Round Robin which accompanied Jesse's petition to the Virginia Company.² In 1623 La Montagne was still anxious to emigrate under Jesse's leadership; and although he was not as yet a married man, his name is among those of the ten pères de familles who sailed with Jesse in the Pigeon.

Moreover, it is fair to assume that La Montagne was one of the three colonists who remained on the Wyapoko; for he certainly sailed with the ship and no trace of him is again found in the records at

¹ See footnote on Louis le Maire, p. 42.

² State Papers, Holland, 1622 [should read 1621] January-March, No. 145 (Public Record Office, London). A petition from Jesse to the English "Virginia Company," asking that the two hundred and twenty-seven colonists whom he had enrolled be granted a tract of land in Virginia.

Leyden until 1626. Then, several months after the return of the two pères de familles who survived Jesse in Guiana, he appears as a boarder in the home of the Widow de Forest on the Voldersgraft. On July 7, 1626, his name was again entered as a medical student in the university, and on November 27, 1626, he became the husband of Jesse de Forest's daughter Rachel.

The handwriting of the manuscript bears some resemblance to that of this university student, especially in the form and slant of the letters. This resemblance is particularly to be remarked by comparison with a certain French letter of his still preserved in Albany.¹ But such a resemblance is not conclusive evidence that he was the author of the Journal.

The writer of this introduction, after studying this interesting little volume very carefully, is inclined to adopt the following theory as to its authorship. It seems possible, even probable, that the Journal now in the British Museum is a contemporary copy of the original. Many such copies were made in those days, when printed books were scarce. Were this the original manuscript, it would seem impossible that it should be so neatly finished and that there should be so few erasures and corrections.

The handwriting of this manuscript is identical throughout, but it is at least possible that the

¹ Letter of August 15, 1658.

original Journal was not entirely written by one person. After January 1, 1624, when the Pigeon left the three pères de familles and the six members of the crew on the Wyapoko, there is a change in the method of wording the entries. The day of the week is no longer mentioned, but only the day of the month, and the entries are not made with the same regularity as before, sometimes as much as a couple of months intervening between them. These variations possibly indicate a change of author—a change that would not show in a manuscript copy.

It seems, therefore, to the writer, that Iesse de Forest may have written the early part of the Journal; that is, the part prior to his landing in Guiana, after which his increased duties might have made it impossible for him to continue keeping the records. The fact that the whole manuscript was written in the first person plural is no argument against this theory, for journals at that time were often so written. Nor would this fact in any way interfere with the supposition that La Montagne was the writer who called himself "I" on December 27, 1623. He it was probably who continued to keep the Journal after Jesse was obliged to give it up. He was possibly also the copyist who made a transcript of the original manuscript and who drew the maps and views, which were apparently made by the same hand as the text.

A Voyage to Guiana

So here the question must be left, somewhat uncertain, although the writer is convinced that the preceding statements are supported by the evidence she has given. When the facts and the deductions we are able to make from them have all been duly considered, it seems not too much to claim that the anonymous manuscript should still be known as "Jesse de Forest's Journal."

Now, after telling all that is known about the Journal itself and all that can be inferred as to its authorship, we may well turn our thoughts once more to the collection of which it has for so many years formed a part — or, rather, to the man who made that collection.

Hans Sloane, the great naturalist, physician, and author, who was the founder of the British Museum, was born in Ireland in 1660 of Scotch parentage. From boyhood he was deeply interested in botany and natural history. As a profession he adopted medicine and pursued his medical studies at Montpellier in southern France. After his return to England he practised as a physician in London, where he acquired a high standing. But although he became eminent in his profession, a large part of his time and thought continued to be absorbed by the claims of natural history and kindred subjects, and he soon began to amass the collection which later made his name famous. At the age of twenty-five he had

been elected a Fellow of the Royal Society,¹ of which Sir Isaac Newton was also a Fellow at that time. Sir Hans received many high honors abroad and at home, was made a baronet in 1716, and succeeded Newton as President of the Royal Society in 1727.

All this time he was ardently adding to the curiosities in his "Museum," as it was then called. This museum consisted principally of objects of natural history but contained a valuable library as well, and in this library were not only books on the subjects mentioned above but "Volumes of manuscripts . . . relating to travels, &c." Of these volumes of manuscripts there were already in 1725 two thousand six hundred and sixty-six, and one of them was "Sloane MS. 179 b."

Sir Hans died in January, 1753, and by his will bequeathed his entire museum to a corporation to consist of fifty "Trustees for the British Museum." His only proviso was that, as he was giving all his fortune to the state, £20,000 should be paid to his executors for the benefit of his two daughters. Parliament immediately closed with this offer and authorized a lottery to raise the necessary sum of money.

The palace of the Duke of Montague with its gardens, seven acres in extent, was selected as an

¹ Royal Society of London for Improving Natural Knowledge.

appropriate home for the priceless collections. There the British Museum was opened to the public on January 15, 1759, and there its treasures can still be seen although in a more modern building.

Where did Sir Hans get the Journal? It is interesting to seek all the possible answers to this question. Sir Hans made many additions by purchase, but the most important collection which was added to his own was that of a certain William Courten, usually known as William Charlton. Sir Hans and Charlton had been friends at Montpellier and were fellow-collectors, and when Charlton died in 1702 he bequeathed his large and very valuable museum, said to be worth £8000, to his friend. Was the Journal part of this bequest? It may have been.

If now we wish to pursue this line of investigation further, we must first go back to the time of Charlton's grandfather, the first Sir William Courten. He was a wealthy merchant in London with a partner residing in Middelburgh, Zeeland, and between them they owned many trading ships which visited the West Indies as well as the East Indies. Sir William seems to have had a passion for colonizing schemes, and about 1625, his Zeeland partner informed him that he had learned that the Island of Barbados was "uninhabited and very fit for plantations."

¹ For records of the Courten family see British Museum, Sloane MS. No. 3515.

Now if we let our imagination run riot a little we can easily persuade ourselves as to the source of the Zeeland partner's information and as to what took place in Flushing in the fall of 1625. The Black Eagle, sent to the Wild Coast by the Zeeland Chamber, returned to Flushing, which is in Zeeland near Middelburgh, on November 16, 1625. On her decks when she reached her destination were the two remaining pères de familles. The Zeeland partner knew that Sir William was eager to get all the information he could about places fit for colonization, and particularly about the West Indies. Here were men who had been for eighteen months settled in the vicinity and who had written out their experiences and made charts of all that they had seen on their voyage. He immediately persuaded one of the voyagers (possibly La Montagne) to make a copy of the Journal for Sir William. 1 It is highly probable that these two men, who were aboard the Black Eagle when she was sailing among the Caribbean Islands on her homeward voyage, had seen the Island of Barbados as they passed, although they did not stop there. Perhaps the information they were able to give was the first definite news of Barbados that Sir William had had. Perhaps it was

¹ Mr. Edward Edwards in his Founders of the British Museum, says: "There are several reasons for thinking that the rudimentary foundations of Courten's museum had been laid in the time of his grandfather, Sir William."

corroborative of the accounts of earlier explorers. In any case, Sir William in 1626 petitioned Charles I for "license to make discoveries and plant colonies." This petition the king granted and it is said that in the month of February, 1626 (1627, New Style), two of Sir William's ships landed in Barbados "men, ammunition, arms and all necessaries for planting and fortifying the country." Thus a colony was established there.

What interests us, however, is not what news about strange islands the two pères de familles gave to Sir William, but whether the little old Journal of the voyage began its career in his hands.

There is another clue to which we must give due consideration. A certain Major John Scott in 1665-66 commanded an English expedition which captured the Island of Tobago and several Dutch colonies in Guiana. From boyhood Major Scott had had an intense interest in geography, history, and travels, and in 1667, after his return from the expedition above alluded to, he undertook to write a history of the islands and coast of America from Newfoundland to the Amazon, an account fuller and more accurate than had previously been written. To this end he collected all the material he could in any way find and at last he wrote his preface. In this he tells of his method of acquiring information: "I made it my business likewise to purchase or borrow all the historys and Journalls that I could heare

Introduction to the Journal

of whether Lattin Ittallian Spanish or Portugais French Dutch or in our Language wherein I may say I have by reason of a generall generous conversation had luck extraordinary." He also acknowledged his indebtedness to sundry gentlemen for the use of "printed books Manuscripts Patents Commissions and papers relating to those parts." His book was never published and not much more than the preface was ever written, but this, in his own handwriting, together with the material he had collected, now forms part of the Sloane Collection.

It is just possible that Jesse's Journal may have formed part of the material secured by Major John Scott for the history which he never finished. If this be so, our second clue may be the right one. On the other hand, both of these surmises may be wide of the mark and the real solution of the source of this interesting old document may be tucked away as secretly, as securely, and for as long a time as was "Jesse de Forest's Journal."

^{· 1} British Museum, Sloane MS. No. 3662.

JOURNAL du voyage faict par les peres de familles enuoyes par M" les Directeurs de la Compagnee des Indes occidentales pour visiter la coste de Gujane

YOMME Messieurs les Directeurs de La Com-1623 pagnee des Indes Occidentales eurent resolu à l'entree de leur administration d'enuoyer visiter la riuiere de l'Amazone et coste de Gujana et ayant pour cet effect esquipé vn nauire nommé le Pigeon du port de quarante cincq last sur lequel commandoit Pieter Fredericss de Harlem ils furent supplies par Jesse des forest qui soubs la permission de Messeigneurs les Estats generaulx des Prouinces unies auoit enroolé plusieurs familles desireuses de s'habituer aus dites Indes aux fins quicelles fussent employees au seruice de là dite Compagnee. Mais pource que Mes dicts sieurs les Directeurs trouuerent meilleur premier que transporter les susdites familles d'enuoyer vn certain nombre des peres de familles pour auecq ledict Jesse desforests voir les lieux et choisir eux mesmes le lieu de leur demeure furent choisis a cet effect Louys le Maire, Barthelemé Digan Anthoine Descendre Anthoine Beaumont, Jehan Godebon, Abraham Douillers, JOURNAL of the Voyage made by the fathers of families sent by the Honorable the Directors of the West India Company to visit the coast of Guiana

HE Directors of the West India Company, 1623 having decided at the beginning of their administration to send an expedition to explore the River Amazon and the coast of Guiana, and having for this purpose fitted out a ship called the Pigeon 1 of 45 lasts 2 burden, commanded by Pieter Fredericsz of Harlem, were petitioned by Jesse des forest, who, with the permission of their Excellencies the States General of the United Provinces, had enrolled several families desirous of settling in the said Indies, that these might be employed in the service of the said Company. But as their Excellencies the said Directors thought it better before carrying over the abovementioned families, to send a certain number of the heads of families with the said Jesse desforests to inspect the region and themselves select their place of abode, there were chosen for this purpose Louis le Maire, Bartheleme Digan, Anthoine Descendre, Anthoine Beaumont, Jehan Godebon, Abraham Douillers,

¹ Apparently a translation of the Dutch name de Duyf, or het Duyfken. Johannes de Laet, Historie ofte Iaerlijck Verhael, pp. 22 and 132, mentions a yacht 't Duyfken, of 36 lasts, which was fitted out in 1624 and again in 1628. This was evidently another vessel.

² A Dutch ship's last was about two tons.

1623 Dominique Masure, Jehan et Gilles Daynes freres et Jehan Mousnier de la Montagne sur lesquels fut donné le commendement estans sur terre audict Jesse desforest.

Le Samedy premier iour de Moys de Jeuillet 1623 nous fusmes embarques sur ledict nauire le Pigeon pour faire le voyage des Amazones

Le Dimanche second du dict mois fismes voille d'Amsterdam vers le Texel

Le Mardy nous arrivasmes audict Texel.

Le Dimanche sexiesme iour dudict moys le vent estant Ost Zud Ost nostre nauire leua les anchres dudict Texel a dix heures du matin pour faire voille auecq la flotte esquipée pour la Guinée mais a cause que la Macquereau qui deuoit venir auecq nous iusques

Dominique Masure, the brothers Jehan and Gilles 1623 Daynes, and Jehan Mousnier de la Montagne, over whom on landing the said Jesse desforest was to have command.

On Saturday the first day of the month of July, 1623, July r we embarked on the said ship Pigeon to make the voyage up the Amazons.

On Sunday the second of the said month we set sail from Amsterdam towards the Texel.

On Tuesday we arrived at the said Texel.

On Sunday the 16th day of the said month, the wind being East South East, our ship weighed anchor from the said Texel at 10 o'clock in the morning in order to sail with the fleet fitted out for Guinea; but as the Mackerel, which was to come with us as far as the

¹ This reference to the Mackerel is of interest in connection with the much disputed date of the first actual settlement of the island of Manhattan. According to Nicolaes van Wassenaer, Historisch Verhael, part vii, pp. 10-11 verso (translated in J. F. Jameson, Narratives of New Netherland, pp. 74-76), the yacht Mackerel had "lain above," - i.e., near Fort Orange on the Hudson River when the ship New Netherland, with a company of 30 families, "mostly Walloons," the first genuine settlers, arrived in May at the mouth of the Hudson River. Owing to the fact that Wassenaer's account is dated April, 1624, many historians, apparently thinking that this date represents the time when the account was written, rather than the approximate date when the events took place, have reasoned that the arrival of the New Netherland, and consequently the actual foundation of what is now the city of

1623 aux Amazones et de la au Nieu Nederland n'estoit pas 16 Jeuillet encore racoustre de son mast qu'une fluste la nuict precedente venant à la trauerse luy auoit rompu nous fusmes contraincts anchrer derechef iusques à deux heures du soir ou nous sortismes ensemble peu apres nous eusmes la veue de la flotte de Guinee.

> Le Lundy dixseptiesme le vent se calma puis se fortifia au Zud West qui nous contraignit loueer au soir nous vismes les clochers de Delf et de La Brille

> Le Mardy dix huictiesme continuant mesme vent nous ioignismes la flotte du Capitaine Couast esquipee pour Maroquee au soir se leua vn petit vent Ost Nord Ost auecq lequel nous courusmes Zud Zud West.

> Le Mercredy dixneufiesme continua mesme vent nostre cours Zud West a deux heures appres midy nous vismes Calais et Douure a ceste heure le vent se tourna Zud West qui nous contraignit loueer puis anchrer sur le soir se leua un grand orage et vn fort vent de LWest Nord West qui nous fit leuer l'anchre

> Le Jeudy vingtiesme le Maquereau ne nous pouuant suiure elle nous en donna le signal de lattandre ce qui

Amazons and from there to go to New Netherland, had 1623 not yet mended her mast which had been broken the July 16 night before by a store ship getting in her way, we were obliged to anchor again until 2 o'clock in the afternoon when we came out together. Shortly after, we had a sight of the Guinea fleet.

On Monday the 17th the wind fell, then strengthened, changing to the South West, which obliged us to tack; in the evening we saw the towers of Delft and of La Brille.

On Tuesday the 18th, the wind continuing the same, we joined the fleet of Captain Couast fitted out for Morocco. In the evening a slight breeze rose East North East with which we ran South South West.

On Wednesday the 19th the same wind continued our course South West. At 2 o'clock in the afternoon we saw Calais and Dover. At that hour the wind turned South West, which forced us to tack and then to anchor. Toward evening a great storm arose and a strong wind from the West North West, which caused us to weigh anchor.

On Thursday the 20th the Mackerel, being unable to follow us, signaled us to wait for her, which made us

New York, must have taken place in May, 1623. The present journal, from which it appears that the Mackerel did not sail till July, 1623, and consequently could not have met the New Netherland till May, 1624, clearly shows that the assumption that the settlement began in 1623 is erroneous and that 1624 is the correct date.

1623 nous fit perdre la flotte de Guinee que nous auions 20 Jenillet presque iointe pour nous retirer à Duns.

> Le Vandredy vingt et vniesme la flotte du Capitaine Couast arriva audict Duns ce iour on nous distribua deux fromages pour chescune personne pour tout le voyage.

Le Samedy vingtdeuxiesme nous prismes de l'eau.

Le Mardy nous eusmes le vent Nort quart a l'West qui nous fit leuer l'anchre pour poursuiure nostre vovage mais comme nous estions au droit de Gaston il se changea au Zud West enuiron les deux heures nous fusmes contraincts de loueer sans grand avance sur le soir se leua une tempeste qui nous fit abatir nos voilles et flotter ainsi toute la nuict.

Le Mercredy vingt sixieme voyant que nous ne pouuions avancer nous retournasmes enchrer derechef a Duns ou nous arrivasmes sur les deux heures appres midv

Le Jeudy vingt septiesme on nous distribua le pain a raison de trois livres et demie par semaine a chescun.

Le Vandredy vingt huictiesme nostre maistre de nauire inuita a son bord Pieter Jass de Flissingues et le maistre du Maquereau ou appres auoir fort bien suruint une querelle entre nostre maistre et les principaux mariniers du nauire de sorte qu'apres plusieurs injures

lose the Guinea fleet, which we had almost joined, and 1623 go back to the Downs.1

July 20

On Friday the 21st Captain Couast's fleet arrived at the said Downs. This day there were distributed to us two cheeses apiece for the whole voyage.

On Saturday the 22nd we took in water.

On Tuesday we had the wind North a quarter West. which made us weigh anchor and continue our voyage, but when we were to the right of Gaston² it changed to the South West. About 2 o'clock we were obliged to tack without making much progress. In the evening a storm arose which caused us to lower our sails and to ride thus all night.

On Wednesday the 26th, seeing that we could not go on, we returned to anchor again in the Downs, where we arrived towards 2 o'clock in the afternoon.

On Thursday the 27th bread was distributed to us at the rate of three pounds and a half a week for each person.

On Friday the 28th our ship's Master invited on board Pieter Jansz of Flushing and the Master of the Mackerel, and after a hearty carouse a quarrel sprang up between our Master and the chief mariners of the

¹ The Downs: an extensive anchorage off the coast of Kent, between Deal & South Foreland, protected largely by the sunken bars known as Goodwin Sands.

² Hastings.

1623 dites de part et d'autre nostre dict Maistre et celuy du Maquereau qui le vouloit soutenir furent fort outragés et batus sur le soir quitterent le nauire le Chirurgien le Canonnier le Cherpantier le Cuisinier et peu appres le Contremaistre auecq quelques autres au nombre de sept.

Le Samedy vers le soir le vent se fit Nord Ost ce qui fit leuer l'anchre a plusieurs nauires ce que nous ne peumes faire pour l'absence de nostre maistre et du commis qui estoient allés a terre chercher leurs gens au soir estans de retour et ne les ayant peu trouuer ils s'en allerent a cincq nauires des Estats qui estoient la anchres pour en auoir dautres en leur place a son retour il amena vn Canonnier et quatre matelots.

Le Dimanche trentiesme le vent estant Ost nous leuasmes les anchres du dict Duns

Le Lundy dernier jour de Jeuillet le vent se fit N. a midy nous eusmes la veue de lisle de Wicht.

Le Mardi premier iour d'Aoust le vent se changea I Aoust Zud West et peu apres Zud Zud West sur les deux heures nous vismes Portland sur le soir se leua une brume fort espaisse auecq un vent Zud West nous loueasmes toute la nuict.

> Le Mercredy second d'Aoust le vent fut Nord West nostre cours West Zud West ce iour nous vismes Torbay

vessel, the upshot of which was that after several 1623 insults on both sides, our said Master and the Master July 28 of the Mackerel, who thought to support him, were very much abused and beaten. In the evening the Surgeon, the Gunner, the Carpenter, the Cook, and shortly afterwards the Quartermaster left the ship with several others to the number of seven.

On Saturday towards evening the wind turned North East, which caused several vessels to weigh anchor, which we could not do by reason of the absence of our Master and the Supercargo, who had gone on shore to look for their men. In the evening, having returned without being able to find them, they went to five States' vessels which were anchored there to procure some others in their place. On his return he brought back a Gunner and four sailors.

On Sunday the 30th, the wind being East, we weighed anchor from the said Downs.

On Monday the last day of July the wind was north. At midday we sighted the Isle of Wight.

On Tuesday the 1st day of August the wind changed August 1 to South West and shortly after to South South West. At 2 o'clock we sighted Portland. In the evening a thick fog set in with a South West wind. We tacked all night.

On Wednesday the 2nd of August the wind was North West — our course West South West. This day we sighted Torbay. Towards evening the wind was

sur le soir le vent se fit West quart au Zud qui nous fit a doust loueer la maquerelle s'enchra sans nous en aduertir qui nous fit continuer sans elle.

> Le Jeudy continuant mesme vent nous fusmes enchres a Pleimouth pour y chercher vn chirugien et vn cherpentier ou nous arrivasmes sur les 7 heures du soir ce iour on nous donna le pain a raison de quartre liures la Semaine.

> Le Salmedy cincquiesme le Maquereau arriua aupres de nous ce mesme iour nostre Maistre trouua vn Chirurgien et deux Cherpantieres.

Le Dimanche sixiesme notre Chirurgien espousa.

Le Lundy nostre Maistre inuita a son Bord tous les amys de nostre chirurgien lesquels il traita.

Le Jeudy vingt quatriesme nostre dict Maistre chargea six cents liures de biscuit et demi last de Biere.

Le Jeudy dernier iour d'Aoust le vent qui auoit toujours esté contraire se fit Ost ce qui nous fit leuer les anchres pour continuer nostre voyage peu apres il se changea au Zud Zud West qui nous fit loueer toute la nuit ce iour nous eusmes la premiere fois le pain sans peser.

I Septembre

Le Vrendredy premier iour de Septembre le mesme vent dura auecq vne bruyne espaisse au soir il se fit West quart au Zud nostre cours Z a minuit il se fit Nord West qui nous fit mettre au Zud West.

West a quarter South, which caused us to tack. The 1623 Mackerel anchored without telling us and we went on without her.

On Thursday, the same wind continuing, we came to anchor at Plymouth, there to look for a doctor and a carpenter. We arrived at 7 o'clock in the evening. This day bread was given us at the rate of four pounds a week.

On Saturday the 5th the Mackerel came up with us; the same day our Master found a Surgeon and two Carpenters.

On Sunday the 16th our Surgeon was married.

On Monday our Master invited on board all our Surgeon's friends and entertained them.

On Thursday the 24th our said Master loaded six hundred pounds of biscuit and half a last of beer.

On Thursday the last day of August the wind, which had been steadily contrary, became East, enabling us to weigh anchor and continue our voyage. Shortly after it changed to South South West, obliging us to tack all night. This day for the first time we had bread without its being weighed.

On Friday the 1st day of September the same wind September 1 continued with a thick fog. In the evening it was West a quarter South — our course South. At midnight it changed to the North West, which made us put the ship's head to the South West.

1623 2 Septembre Le Samedy second jour de Septembre le mesme vent mais si fort qu'il nous fallut freller nos hunnieres nostre cours Zud West puis West Zud West au soir nous mismes nostre cours au Zud West quart a l'West la nuict le vent se fit si grand que nous ne peusmes porter que nostre grand voille demi-amayner.

Le Dimanche troiziesme bon vent du Nord West nostre cours Zud West quart au Zud a midy nous eusmes 48 degres et 8 minutes de hauteur au soir vint vn calme qui dura toute la nuict.

Le Lundy quatriesme le vent Zud quart a l'West qui nous fit courre West quart au Zud a midy nous eusmes 47 degres 57 minutes de hauteur au soir il se changea au Zud West qui nous fit loueer.

Le Mardy cincquiesme le vent Nord West nostre cours Zud West quart au Zud et Zud Zud West a midy nous eusmes 46 degres 40 minutes sur les trois heures nous vismes un nauire au Zud Ost de nous nous le cachasmes jusques a la nuict qui nous le fit perdre nostre Maistre le vouloit poursuivre non obstant la nuict et le gré du Pilite mais enfin nous eusmes nostre cours au Zud West.

Le Mercredy sixiesme le vent Nord nostre cours Zud Zud West a midy nous eusmes la hauteur de 44 degres 27 minutes au soir nous mismes le Cap au Zud puis apres Zud quart a l'Ost.

On Saturday the 2nd day of September the same ró23 wind, but so strong that we were obliged to furl our topsails — our course South West, then West South West. In the evening we laid our course to the South West a quarter West. At night the wind was so strong that we could only carry our mainsail half hauled up.

1623 September 2

On Sunday the 3rd — a fair wind from the North West — our course South West a quarter South. At midday we were in latitude 48 degrees 8 minutes; in the evening it fell calm, which lasted all night.

On Monday the 4th the wind South a quarter West, which made us run West a quarter South. At midday we were in latitude 47 degrees 57 minutes. In the evening the wind changed to the South West, which caused us to tack.

On Tuesday the 5th the wind North West—our course South West a quarter South, and South South West. At midday we were in North latitude 46 degrees 40 minutes. At 3 o'clock we sighted a vessel to the South East of us. We gave chase till nightfall, and then lost her. Our Master was anxious to pursue her in spite of the night and the wish of the Pilot; but finally we continued our course to the South West.

On Wednesday the 6th the wind North — our course South South West. At midday we were in latitude 44 degrees 27 minutes. In the evening we put the ship's head to the Southward, then afterwards South a quarter East.

1623 7 Septembre

Le Jeudy septiesme le vent Wet West Zud West nostre cours Zud et Zud quart a l'Ost nous eusmes la veue du Cap de Finisterra a midy nous nous trouu-asmes auoir 43 degres 25 minutes de hauteur sur le soir nous mismes le cap au Zud Zud Ost pour ranger les costes d'Espagne.

Le Vrendredy huictiesme nous eusmes la veue d'un nauire au Zud Ost de nous qui couroit vers Bayonne d'Espagne nous le poursuivismes a force de rames a cause du calme nous trouuasmes l'ayant attaint que cestoit vn Anglois des Isles de Jarsay qui venoit de Terre neuue nostre Maistre fut a son bord qui apporta oultre quelque prouision forces hardes prises dans les coffres des matelots que nostre capitaine et le Pilote firent rendre sur les deux heures appres plusieurs contestations entre le Maistre et Pilote prouenantes de ce que nostre dict Maistre contre sa charge mettant en arrière son voyage voulloit toujours suiure les costes nous mismes nostre cours au Zud Zud West.

Le Samedy neufiesme deux heures auant iour nous fusmes rancontré d'un nauire Turc qui nous suiuit iusques au iour a lapproche il nous tira vn coup de canon pour nous faire amayner mais voyant que nous n'en voullions rien faire et que nous estions aussi forts que luy il nous quitta a midy nous eusmes la hauteur de trente neuf degres et 58 minutes le vent Nord Nord West nostre cours Zud Zud West et Zud West quart au Zud.

Le Dimanche dixiesme nous eusmes le vent Nord nostre cours comme devant a midy nous eusmes la hauteur de 37 degres 52 minutes.

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On Thursday the 7th the wind West, West South 1623 West—our course South and South a quarter East. We sighted Cape Finisterre. At midday we found we were in latitude 43 degrees 25 minutes. In the evening we put the ship's head to the South South East to sail close to the coast of Spain.

1623 September 7

On Friday the 8th we sighted a vessel to the South East of us running towards Spanish Bayonne. We pursued it with oars because of the calm, and found upon reaching it that it was an Englishman of the Island of Jersey, coming from Newfoundland. Our master boarded her and brought away, besides some provisions, much clothing taken from the sailors' chests, which our Captain and the Pilot caused to be returned. About 2 o'clock, after several disputes between the Master and the Pilot because our said Master, contrary to his orders, would delay the voyage by hugging the coast, we laid our course South South West.

On Saturday the 9th, two hours before daybreak, we were met by a Turkish vessel which followed us till daylight. As she approached, she fired a cannon in order to make us lower our sails, but seeing that we would not and that we were as strong as she was, she left us. At noon we were in latitude 39 degrees and 58 minutes, the wind North North West — our course South South West and South West a quarter South.

On Sunday the 10th we had a North wind, our course as before. At noon we were in latitude 37 degrees 52 minutes.

1623 11 Septembre Le Lundy vnzieme le vent fut Nord Nord Ost mais fort petit nostre cours comme dessus Zud Zud West et Zud West quart au Zud a midy nous nous trouuasmes a 35 degres 42 minutes de hauteur.

Le Mardy douziesme le vent West Zud West qui nous fit courre Zud quart a l'Ost a midy nous trouuasmes que nous estions a 34 degres 34 minutes de hauteur.

Le Mercredy treziesme le vent Zud West nostre cours comme dessus a midy nous eusmes la hauteur de 32 degres 40 minutes a ceste heure le vent se fit West nostre cours Zud West quart a l'West a 6 heures le vent fut West quart au Nord nostre cours Zud West.

Le Jeudy quatorziesme le vent Nord Nord Ost nostre cours Zud West a midy nous eusmes la hauteur de 31 degres 54 minutes vers le soir le vent se fit Nord ce iour le Maquereau qui auoit toujours esté auecq nous nous quitta prenant son cours vers Nieu Nederland.

Le Vandredy quinziesme bon vent du Nord Ost nous mismes nostre cours au Zud quart a l'West pour passer a l'Ost des Isles Saluages que nous vismes enuiron les vnze heures a midy nous eusmes 30 degres 15 minutes de hauteur estant a l'Ost dicelles nous mismes le cap au Zud pour courir vers Tenerife courant toute la nuict a petites voiles a minuit nous mismes vent en panne pour attendre le iour.

On Monday the 11th the wind was North North 1623 East but very slight—our course as above South South West and South West a quarter South. At noon we found ourselves in latitude 35 degrees 42 minutes.

1623 Septe<mark>mber 1</mark>1

On Tuesday the 12th the wind West South West, which made us run South a quarter East. At midday we found that we were in latitude 34 degrees 34 minutes.

On Wednesday the 13th the wind South West, our course as above. At noon we were in latitude 32 degrees 40 minutes. At this time the wind was West, our course South West a quarter West. At 6 o'clock the wind was West a quarter North, our course South West.

On Thursday the 14th the wind North North East, our course South West. At noon we were in latitude 31 degrees 54 minutes. Towards the evening the wind shifted North. This day the Mackerel, who had been with us all the time, left us, taking her course towards New Netherland.

On Friday the 15th a favorable wind from the North East. We sailed to the South a quarter West, in order to pass to the East of the Savage Islands, which we sighted about 11 o'clock. At noon we were in latitude 30 degrees 15 minutes. Being to the East of those islands, we put the ship's head to the South towards Teneriffe, running all night under close sail. At midnight we hove to in order to await the day.

¹ Desertas Island, part of the Madeira group.

1623 16 Septembre Le Salmedy sixiesme a soleil leué nous vismes le haulte Isle de Teneriffe deuant nous au Zud nous courusmes le long dicelle a la coste du le vent estant Nord Ost a vne heure appres midy nous vismes le Pic de Gerrachique le sommet duquel paroissoit fort a descouuert il sembloit passer de la moitié de sa hauteur les plus hautes uues a 3 heures nous estions au droit de la ville de Guerrachique sise au pied des montagnes en vne plaine qui est entre la mer et icelles a la pointe occidentale de l'Isle nous mismes au Nord West vers La Palma a 4 heures nous vismes l'isle de Gomera a l'West Zud West de nous au soir le vent se renforça tellement qu'il nous fallut amainer nos bourcets et courir Zud Zud West.

Le Dimanche dixseptiesme continuant mesme vent nous vismes Ferro au Nord de nous a midy nous eusmes la haute! de 26 degres 49 minutes nostre cours Zud Zud West de nuict nous prismes la hauteur au dard du Sagitaire et eusmes 25 degres 30 minutes.

Le Lundy dixhuitiesme le vent fut Ost Nord Ost nostre cours comme dessus a midy nous eusmes 24 degres 43 minutes a cet heure nous vismes deux nauires a l'West Zud West de nous les ayans approchés voyant que cestoient deux grands nauires qui nous attandoient nous reprismes nostre cours ce jour nous vismes les premiers poissons vollans.

On Saturday the 16th at sunrise we saw the lofty Island of Teneriffe ahead of us to the South. We ran the length of it to the coast of the wind being North East. At one o'clock in the afternoon we saw the peak of Garachico, the top of which stood out boldly and seemed to be half as high again as the highest peaks in sight. At 3 o'clock we were to the right of the town of Garachico, situated at the foot of the mountains in a plain lying between them and the sea. At the west point of the Island we put about to the North West towards Palma. At 4 o'clock we saw the Island of Gomera to the West South West of us. In the evening the wind grew so strong that we were obliged to lower our lug sails and to run South South West.

r623 September 16

On Sunday the 17th, the same wind continuing, we saw Ferro to the North of us. At midday we were in latitude 26 degrees 49 minutes, our course South South West. At night we calculated the latitude by the arrow of Sagittarius and found it 25 degrees 30 minutes.

On Monday the 18th the wind was East North East, our course as above. At noon we were in 24 degrees 43 minutes North latitude. At that time we sighted two ships to the West South West of us. Having approached them and seen that they were both large ships and were waiting for us, we resumed our course. This day we saw the first flying fish.

¹ In 1706 a stream of lava flowed down the side of this peak and nearly filled up the harbor of Garachico, mentioned below.

1623 19 Septembre Le Mardy dixneufiesme tomberent au matin force poissons vollans en nostre nauire a midy nous nous trouuasmes a 22 degres 55 minutes ayants passe le Tropicq le vent Nord Ost nostre cours comme dessus

Le Mercredy vingtiesme mesme vent et fort qui nous fit beaucoup auancer a midy nous eusmes 19 degres 55 minutes nous mismes nostre cours au Zud quart a l'West.

Le Jeudy vingt uniesme mesme vent et mesme cours nous eusmes a midy 17 degres 45 minutes.

Le Vrendredy ne voyant point l'isle de Sal sur laquelle nous estimions courir nous mismes le cap a l'Ost Zud Ost et sur les neuf heures Zud West quart a l'West pour la trouuer a cause que les chartes de nostre Maistre et Pilote estoient differentes de 25 lieues Ost et West.

Le Salmedy vingt troiziesme nous courusmes West quart au Nord pour ce que nous croyons estre au Zud des Isles de nuict nous auions couru Zud quart a l'Ost et puis Zud West a Vnxe heure nous vismes au Nord West quart a l'West de nous vne Isle que nous trouuasmes estre Bona vista vers laquelle nous courusmes ceste Isle est fort montagneuse et enuironnée de rochers en mer Sans aucun haure n'y rade pour anchre au soir nous nous trouuasmes vis a vis dune Baye au coste du de lisle nous courusmes en mer pour la nuict.

Le Dimanche vingt quatriesme nous courusmes vers

On Tuesday the 19th a great many flying fish fell 1623 into our ship. At noon we found ourselves in latitude September 19 22 degrees 55 minutes, having passed the Tropic. The wind North East — our course as above.

On Wednesday the 20th the same wind and strong, which caused us to make great progress. At noon we were in latitude 19 degrees 55 minutes and took our course South a quarter West.

On Thursday the 21st the same wind and the same course. At noon we were in latitude 17 degrees 45 minutes.

On Friday, not seeing the Island of Sal, toward which we reckoned we were running, we steered East South East and about 9 o'clock South West a quarter West in order to find it, as the charts of our Master and Pilot differed by 25 leagues East and West.

On Saturday the 23rd we ran West a quarter North because we thought we were at the South of the Islands. During the night we had run South a quarter East and then South West. At II o'clock we saw to the North West a quarter West of us an island which we found to be Buena Vista, towards which we ran. This island is very mountainous and surrounded with rocks in the sea, without any harbor or roadstead for anchorage. In the evening we found ourselves opposite a bay on the coast of the of the island. We stood out to sea for the night.

On Sunday the 24th we ran towards the said bay,

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1623 24 Septembre

1623 la dite Baye esperant y anchrer mais nous n'y trouuasmes nul fond propre pour anchrer La Baye est diuise en deux par vne Isle chescune partie dicelle peut auoir enuiron demie lieue nous mismes pied a terre auecq nostre cheloupe en la partie d grand peril car nostre cheloupe fut emplié des brisures de la coste deux ou trois fois nous trouuasmes l'isle du tout sterille sans arbres ny beaucoup d'herbe les montagnes estoient couvertes de pommes de Colocinte il n'y a avoit nul rafraichissement estant de retour nous entrasmes dans lautre partie mais n'y avant non plus trouué de fond qu'en lautre et mesme ayant failli à toucher sur vn bancq nous courusmes autour lisle tant que le vent nous peut porter et puis nous mismes le cap au Zud West quart a lWest courant ainsi toute la nuict dun fort vent de Nord Ost.

Le Lundy vingt cincquiesme a la pointe du jour nous nous trouuasmes au Nord Ost de l'isle de Sainct Jacques enuiron deux lieues vers laquelle nous courusmes nous voyons lisle de May a lOst quart au Zud de nous la coste de lisle de Sainct Jacques lOst audict Zud Ost puis elle senclinoit vers lWest quart au Nord et Zud West en fin nous la vismes sestandie Zud Zud Ost au costé du l'W nous vismes vne Baye en rond enuironnee comme le coste de lisle de fort hautes montagnes au costé du Nord de la Baye il y auoit vne belle prairie dune lieue de long qui sestandoit de la mer aux montagnes et au bout vers le Nord dicelle prairie vn vilage au Zud la prairie estoit toute pleine de vaches de les

hoping to anchor there, but we found no suitable 1623 bottom for anchoring. The bay is divided in two by an island, each part being about half a league [wide]. We landed with our pinnace [longboat] in the part

1623 September 24

with great danger, for our pinnace was filled two or three times by the breakers from the shore. We found the island quite barren, without trees or much grass; the mountains were covered with colocinth apples, and there were no refreshing fruits. On our return we ran into the other part [of the Bay] but having found no better bottom there and having just missed grounding on a bank, we ran around the island as long as the wind would carry us, and then steered to the South West a quarter West, running thus all night with a strong North East wind.

On Monday the 25th at daybreak we found ourselves North East of the Island of Santiago about two leagues distant, towards which we ran. We saw the Island of Mayo to the East a quarter South of us, the coast of the Island of Santiago East South East, then it inclined towards the West a quarter North and South West; at last we saw it stretching out South South East. On the west side we saw a round bay surrounded like the coast of the island by very high mountains; on the north side of the bay there was a beautiful meadow a league long which stretched from the sea to the mountains, and at the end towards the north of this meadow was a village. On the South the

¹ Doubtless the Colocinthis, Wild Citrull, or Coloquintida of the old herbalists. Gerarde says, "It cometh to perfection in hot regions." It belongs to the Cucumber or Melon Family and was valued as a violent purge.

1623 25 Septembre

montagnes de Bourgs au coste du Zud de la Baye y auoit vn autre vilage auecq vn temple scitué au pied des montagnes sur vn tertre plat separé des montagnes par vne valée il sembloit que ce fust vne ville tant la nature y auoit sceu former vn relief comme vn rempart la Baye peut auoir vne lieue de large au Zud West dicelle nous voyons l'isle de Fogo nostre Maistre devalla a terre auecq sept hommes il parla aux negres qui luy promirent apporter des refraichissemens qui fit que nous entrasmes en la Baye nous enchrant a la portee dune petite piece sur 8 brasses nous hallant au dedans iusques a la portee dun pistolet ou nous iettasmes lanchre sur 3 brasses.

Le Mardy vingt sixiesme nous devallasmes derechef a terre parler au Negres qui nous promirent de nous apporter ce iour des boucs et (autres) rafraichissement nous prismes de leau et du bois dans vn jardin au bord de la Baye.

Le Mercredy nous prismes la hauteur auecq lastrolabe et trouuasmes 14 degres 30 minutes ce iour voyant que les Negres nous auoient trompe et qu'ils auoient retiré leurs vaches aux montagnes nous fismes voille courant Zud West quart au Zud le Vent estant Nord Ost au soir le vent se changea Zud Ost.

Le Jeudy vingt huictiesme au matin nous nous trouuasme entre Fogo et la Braue ayant lune au Nord et l'autre a l'West elles sont distantes l'une de l'autre denuiron cincq lieues encore que les Chartes les mettent a dix la Braue ne contient guerre que la moitie de lautre

meadow was full of cows from the Bourg mountains. On the South side of the bay there was another village with a church situated at the foot of the mountains on a level hillock separated from the mountains by a valley. It almost appeared to be a walled city so amazingly had nature supplied it with a seeming rampart. The bay may be about one league in width. To the South West of the same we saw the Island of Fogo. Our Master landed with seven men. He spoke to the negroes, who promised to bring him provisions, which induced us to enter the bay and to anchor in eight fathoms within the range of a small piece [cannon], hauling ourselves up to within pistol shot, where we dropped anchor in three fathoms.

1623 September 25

On Tuesday the 26th we again landed to speak to the negroes, who promised to bring us this day some goats and other provisions. We took in water and wood in a garden on the edge of the bay.

On Wednesday we calculated the latitude with the astrolabe and found 14 degrees, 30 minutes. This day, seeing that the negroes had deceived us and that they had taken away their cows to the mountains, we set sail, running South West a quarter South, the wind being North East. In the evening the wind changed to South East.

On Thursday the 28th in the morning we found ourselves between Fogo and Brava, having the one to the North and the other to the West. They are distant from one another about five leagues, yet the charts place them at ten. Brava is only about half the size of

1623 **2**8 Septembro

a cet heure nous mismes nostre cours Zud West quart a l'West le vent fort variable tantost Zud Ost tantost Nord Ost a midy nous eusmes 13 degres 43 minutes de hauteur de nuict le vent se calma puis il se changea au Zud qui nous fit courré West Zud West.

Le Vrendredy vingt neufiesme le vent fut Nord Ost nostre cours Zud West et peu appres Zud West quart a l'West ce jour nous eusmes 12 degres 26 minutes de hauteur.

Le Salmedy trentiesme le vent se fit Ost et fort nostre cours comme dessus a midy nous eusmes 11 degres iustes.

1 Octobre

Le Dimanche premier iour d'Octobre le vent fut fort variable et en fin il se fit Zud Zud West et fort nous courusmes West quart au Zud a midy nous eusmes 10 degres 30 minutes de hauteur au soir le vent se changea au Zud Zud Ost nostre cours Zud West la nuict il se calma.

Le Lundy second iour d'October a cincq heures du matin le vent fut Nord Ost nostre cours Zud West a midi nous eusmes 10 degres 15 minutes au soir le vent se fit Nord Nord Ost puis apres Nord et asses fort nostre cours Zud West quart a l'West.

Le Mardy troiziesme le vent Nord Ost nostre cours Zud West quart a l'West a midy nous eusmes 9 degres

Fogo. We now took our course South West, a quarter 1623 West, the wind very changeable, sometimes South September 28 East, sometimes North East. At noon we were in latitude 13 degrees, 43 minutes. During the night the wind dropped, then changed to the South, which caused us to run West South West.

On Friday the 20th the wind was North East - our course South West, and shortly afterwards South West a quarter West. This day we reached latitude 12 degrees 26 minutes.

On Saturday the 30th the wind was East and strong, our course as above. At noon we were in exactly II degrees.

On Sunday the 1st day of October the wind was October 1 very changeable but at last South South West and strong. We ran West a quarter South. By noon we were in latitude 10 degrees 30 minutes. In the evening the wind changed to the South South East — our course South West; at night it dropped.

On Monday the second of October at 5 o'clock in the morning the wind was North East - our course South West. At noon we were in 10 degrees 15 minutes. In the evening the wind was North North East, then afterwards North and rather strong; our course South West a quarter West.

On Tuesday the 3rd the wind North East — our course South West a quarter West. At noon we were in 9 degrees 20 minutes. During the night the wind

2623 20 minutes de nuict le vent se calma par fois pluyes et 3 Octobre bourasques du Nord et Nord Nord Ost.

> Le Mercredy quatriesme le vent Ost Nord Ost nostre cours comme deuant nous eusmes a midy 8 degres 20 minutes de hauteur.

> Le Jeudy cincquiesme le vent Nord Ost quart a l'Ost mesme cours que deuant a midy nous eusmes 7 degres 20 minutes de hauteur au soir appres vn calme il se fit Zud West quart a l'West et fort qui nous fit courre auecq nos basses voilles West Nord West.

> Le Vrendredy sixiesme continuant le mesme vent nous changeasmes nostre cours Zud Ost quart a l'Ost a midy nous trouuasmes 7 degres de hauteur et 40 minutes de sorte que nous auions perdu 20 minutes au soir le vent se fit Zud et peu appres Zud quart a l'West si fort que nous ne peusmes porter que nostre grand voille courant West Zud West.

> Le Samedy septiesme le vent Zud West nostre cours West quart au Nord nous eusmes a midy 7 degres 20 minutes sur le soir appres vne trauade il se fit West qui nous fit courre West quart au Zud de nuict il fut fort variable auecq forces pluyes.

Le Dimanche huictiesme au matin se leua vn petit vent du Zud Ost mais il se calma peu apres a midy nous eusmes 7¹ degres 30 minutes la nuict force pluyes et trauades

¹ Not clear; either 6 or 7, probably 7.

dropped; - now and then rain and squalls from the 1623 North and North North East.

October 2

On Wednesday the 4th the wind East North East our course as before. At noon we were in latitude 8 degrees 20 minutes.

On Thursday the 5th the wind North East a quarter East—the same course as before. At noon we were in latitude 7 degrees 20 minutes. In the evening after a calm the wind became South West a quarter West and strong, which enabled us to run, under main and foresail, West North West.

On Friday the 6th, the same wind continuing, we changed our course South East a quarter East. At noon we found ourselves in 7 degrees 40 minutes so that we had lost 20 minutes. In the evening the wind was South, and shortly afterwards South a quarter West and so strong that we could carry only our mainsail, running West South West.

On Saturday the 7th the wind South West — our course West a quarter North. At noon we were in 7 degrees 20 minutes. Towards the evening, after a hurricane, the wind shipped West, which made us run West a quarter South. During the night it was very changeable with much rain.

On Sunday the 8th in the morning a slight wind arose from the South East but dropped shortly after. At noon we were in 7 degrees 30 minutes. At night much rain and several hurricanes.

1623 9 Octobre Le Lundy neufiesme le vent fut Nord Ost et peu apres Ost Nord Ost enfin Ost et asses fort qui nous auanca fort a midy nous eusmes 6 degres 30 minutes nostre cours Zud West.

Le Mardy dixiesme le vent Zud Ost et Zud Zud Ost nostre cours Zud West quart a l'West a midy nous eusmes 5 degres 58 minutes la nuict le vent et nostre cours fort variables force pluyes et trauades.

Le Mercredy vnziesme le vent fut Zud nostre cours Zud West quart a l'West a midy nous eusmes 5 degres 15 minutes.

Le Jeudy douziesme le vent Zud quart a l'Ost nostre cours Zud West a midy nous eusmes 4 degres 37 minutes de hauteur ce jour nous prismes une haye qui auoit sept pieds de long elle auoit ses petits viuans en son ventre nous trouuasmes a son ventre un petit poisson de la grandeur dun petit haran attache a iceluy par le dessus de la teste (qu'l auoit platte et faite en forme de lune) layant mis dans vne tonne vuide il en sortit saydant du dessus de la teste.

Le Vrendredy treiziesme le vent Ost Zud Ost nostre cours Zud West a midy nous eusmes 4 degres 15 minutes de hauteur.

On Monday the 9th the wind was North East and 1623 shortly afterwards East North East; at last East and fairly strong, which sent us well forward. At noon we were in 6 degrees 30 minutes — our course South West.

On Tuesday the 10th, the wind South East and South South East — our course South West a quarter West. At noon we were in 5 degrees 58 minutes. At night the wind and our course very changeable; much rain and hurricanes.

On Wednesday the 11th the wind was South — our course South West a quarter West. At noon we were in 5 degrees 15 minutes.

On Thursday the 12th the wind South a quarter East — our course South West. At noon we were in latitude 4 degrees 37 minutes. This day we caught a shark which was 7 feet long; it had its young alive in its belly. Attached to its belly we found a fish, the size of a small herring, fastened to it by the top of its head, which was flat and moon-shaped.1 We put it into an empty barrel, but it came out of it climbing up by the top of its head.

On Friday the 13th the wind East South East our course South West. At noon we were in latitude 4 degrees 15 minutes.

¹ Doubtless the echeneis remora, or a West Indian species of the same genus, - the Remora of Pliny and the old writers, once popularly known as the "stay-fish," and fabled to have the power of stopping the living creature or ship to which it clings.

1623 14 Octobre Le Samedy quatorziesme mesme vent et mesme cours nous eusmes a midy 3 degres 7 minutes de hauteur le vent se calma sur les deux heures durant lequel nous vismes le courant Nord.

Le Dimanche quinziesme le vent se fit Zud Ost quart a l'Ost nostre cours Zud West quart a l'West a midy nous eusmes 2 degres 43 minutes de hauteur.

Le Lundy sexiesme le vent Zud Ost et appres Ost Zud Ost nostre cours West Zud West pour entrer en la Riuiere des Amasones a midy nous eusmes 1 degre 35 minutes a cete heure nous eusmes la veue d'un nauire qui venoit la mesme route que nous l'ayant ioinct nous trouuasmes que c'estoit Pieter Janss de Flixingues qui estoit parti deuant nous de Pleimouth nous prismes ensemble nostre cours a l'West quart au Zud au soir nous vismes encore l'estoile du Nord.

Le Mardy dixseptiesme le vent Ost quart au Zud nostre cours West quart au Zud a midy nous eusmes 1 degre 5 minutes de hauteur.

Le Mercredi dixhuictiesme mesme vent et mesmes cours a midy nous eusmes 47 minutes de hauteur a cete heure nous mismes le cap au Zud West quart au Zud.

Le Jeudy dixneufiesme le vent Ost nostre cours comme deuant nous eusmes a midy 35 minutes a cete

On Saturday the 14th the same wind and the same 1623 course. At noon we were in latitude 3 degrees 7 min- October 14 utes. The wind dropped towards 2 o'clock, during which we saw the northern current.1

On Sunday the 15th the wind was South East a quarter East - our course South West a quarter West. At noon we were in latitude 2 degrees 43 min-

On Monday the 16th the wind South East and afterwards East South East — our course West South West, in order to enter the River Amazons.² At noon we reached I degree 35 minutes. At this time we caught sight of a ship which was coming the same way. Having joined it, we found it was Pieter Jansz of Flushing, who left Plymouth before us. We went on together, our course to the West a quarter South. In the evening we again saw the North Star.

On Tuesday the 17th the wind East a quarter South - our course West a quarter South. At noon we were but I degree 5 minutes north of the Line.

On Wednesday the 18th the same wind and the same course. At noon we were but 47 minutes. We now steered South West a quarter South.

On Thursday the 19th the wind East — our course as before. At noon we were North 35 minutes. We

¹ Which later joins the Gulf Stream.

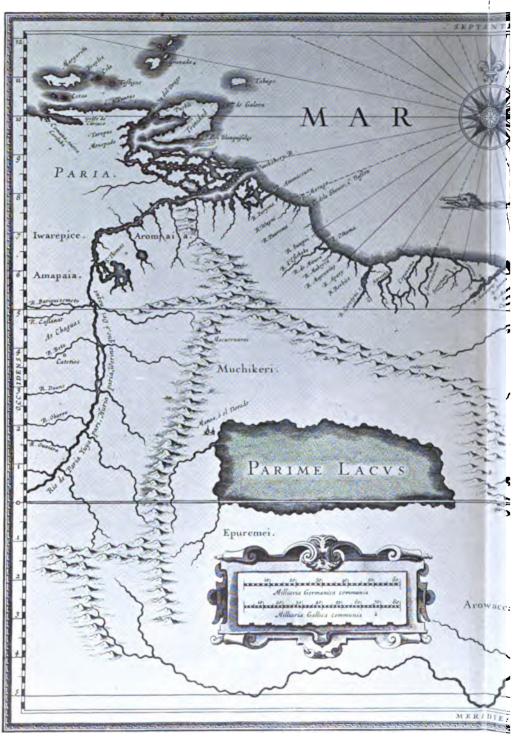
² Defoe in Robinson Crusoe, 1719, uses a similar form, speaking of "the river Amazones."

1623 heure nous vismes leau blanchir nous trouuasmes fond a 23 brasses qui nous fit courre West a 3 heures nous sondasmes le fond a 10 brasses fond sablonneux au soir nous trouuasmes 8 brasses qui nous fit courre W quart au Nord a miniut nous mismes au Nord West pour gasgner le cap de Nord deux heures appres nous enchrasmes sur 7 brasses fond sablonneux.

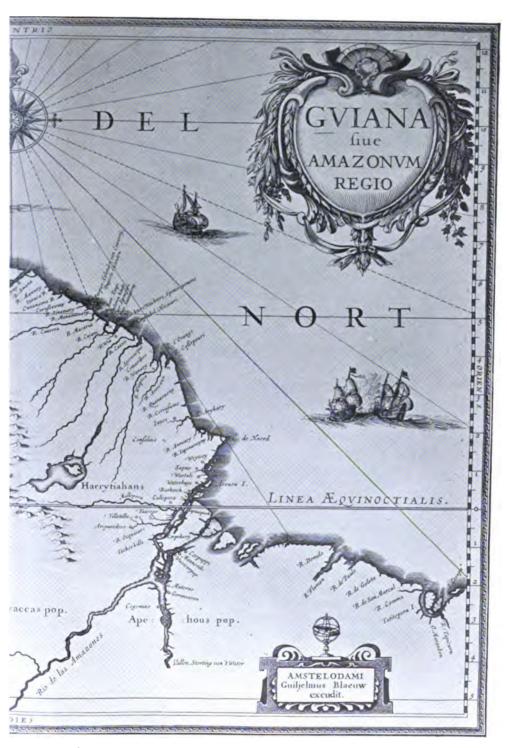
Le Vrendredy vingtiesme a 6 heures du matin nous leuasmes lanchre le vent Ost courant Nord West a midy nous eusmes I degre 53 min. de hauteur 2 heures apres nous vismes le Cap de Nord a l'West Nord West de nous terre basse et novée nous auions employe 50 jours despuis que nous estions partis de Pleimouth. nous courusmes vers la coste qui entre dans l'Amazone laquelle court Zud Zud West la rangeant tousiours a 8, 7, on 5 brasses deau nous vismes bien tost la premiere Isle vers laquelle nous courusmes estant au droit dicelle nous enchrasmes enuiron son milieu.

Le Samedy vingt et vniesme nous leuasmes lanchre rangeant la coste de l'isle de si pres qu'on eust peu facillement ietter sur icelle vne pierre ce que nous fismes passant le long des autres mais non pas de si pres iusques a ce questant venu au droict de la Riuiere nous trauersames vers lisle de Sapno courant vers le vilage ce village a trois longues maisons basties sur de hauts peteaux au bord de la riuiere. Les Maraons Indiens nous dirent que les Espagnols estoient en la riuiere et qu'ils auoient pris vn nauire de Hollande vers Sapanopoke ce qui nous fit poursuiure appres auoir traite quelque rafraichissemens mais Pieter

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BLAEUW'S MAP OF GUI In the Lenox Collection, New Y.



F GUIANA, 1635 New York Public Library

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now noticed the water shew pale and found the bottom 1623 at 23 fathoms, which made us run West. At 3 o'clock we sounded and found 10 fathoms, sandy bottom; in the evening we found 8 fathoms, which made us run West a quarter North; at midnight we put to the North West to reach the North Cape; 1 and two hours afterwards we anchored in 7 fathoms, sandy bottom.

On Friday the 20th at 6 o'clock in the morning we weighed anchor — the wind East — running North West. At noon we were in latitude I degree 53 minutes North. Two hours afterwards we saw the North Cape to the West North West of us, land low and overflowed. It was 50 days since we had left Plymouth. We made for the side which projects into the Amazon. and trends South South West, coasting all the time in 8, 7, or 5 fathoms of water. Very soon we saw the first island, towards which we ran and keeping to the right of it anchored about the middle.

On Saturday the 21st we weighed anchor, coasting along the island, so near that one could easily throw a stone upon it, which we did, also passing by the others but not so near, until having come to the right of the we crossed towards the Island of Sapno, making for the village. This village has three long houses built on high piles on the edge of the river. The Maraons Indians told us that the Spaniards were up the river and that they had taken a Dutch ship near Sapanopoke, which set us pursuing them, after having obtained some fresh provisions; but Pieter Jansz

So on the old maps; now always Capo do Norte. It is in Brazil a short distance north of the mouth of the Amazon.

1623 Janss seschoua sur vn sable qui est a l'Ost du village enuiron deux traits de mousquet ce qui nous contraignit danchrer.

Le Dimanche Pieter Janss enuoya sa chelouppe vers Sapanopoke a la maree nous leuasmes l'anchre mais Pieter Janss seschoua derechef.

Le Lundy nous leuasmes derechef l'anchre voyant que Pieter Janss nous faisoit consommer le temps expres pour donner loisir a sa cheloupe de traiter auecq les Anglois et Hirlandois nous courusmes Zud Ost vers une petite Isle entre Sapno et Quariane la rangeant de Sapno fort peu a cause du bancq de sable qui vient de la pointe de Wetali de la nous courusmes Zud Zud West vers l'isle d'Arouen mais Pieter Janss seschoua sur vn sable qui vient de la pointe du Nord de lisle d'Arouen nous passasme plus bas dans vn grand courant a 2 brasses d'eau nous fusmes nous enchrer enuiron le milieu de ladite isle deuant vn village.

Le Mardy vingt quatriesme Pieter Janss nous vint trouuer a la maree nous leuasmes lanchre rangeant la coste de lisle mais comme de lextremite dicelle nous voullions passer vers la terre ferme Pieter Janss s'eschoua derechef nous retournasmes derechef ranger les Isles nous enchrant a l'W quart au Zud de Cocqs Eyland.

Le Mercredy vingtcincquiesme nous fusmes enchres a lOst quart au Nord de Rooden hoec

grounded himself on a sand-bank to the East of the 1622 village about two musket shots off, which forced us to October 21 anchor.

On Sunday Pieter Jansz sent his pinnace towards Sapanopoke. At high tide we weighed anchor but Pieter Jansz ran aground again.

On Monday we weighed anchor again, seeing that Pieter Jansz was making us waste time on purpose to give his pinnace an opportunity to trade with the English and Irish. We ran South East towards a little island between Sapno and Quariane, not coasting near Sapno by reason of the sand-bank which comes from the point of Wetali. From there we ran South South West towards the Island of Arouen, but Pieter Jansz ran his boat on a sand-bank which comes from the north point of the Island of Arouen. We passed lower down in a strong current of 2 fathoms of water, and came to anchor half-way down the said island before a village.

On Tuesday the 24th Pieter Jansz came to find us. At high tide we weighed anchor, coasting along the shore of the island, but when we wished to pass from the extremity of that island to the mainland Pieter Jansz ran aground again, and we returned to coast along the islands, anchoring West a quarter South of Cocqs Island.

On Wednesday the 25th we were anchored to the East a quarter North of Roohoeck.

¹ Waetali, on Blaeuw's map of "Gviana siue Amazonvm regio," 1635.

1623 26 Octobre Le Jeudy vingtsixiesme nous courusmes vers le dict Rooden hoec courant West quart au Zud passant entre deux sables mais en approchant la terre ferme nous vismes des rochers a vn traict de mousquet dudict roden houc qui nous firent retint plus au large nous passasmes entre la terre ferme de l'isle de Tapelraka par vn canal large de 300 pas ayant 4 et 5 brasses de profond lisle de Tapelraka et la terre ferme sont esleues par dessus le niueau de leau de plus de 15 pieds a lissue du canal nous vismes vne haute isle a l'emboucheure d'une belle et profonde riuiere on nous fusmes enchres estimant que ce fust Sapanapoko.

Le Vrendredy nous sortismes de ladicte riuiere courant vers la pointe du Nord de Sapanapoko mais nous nous eschouasmes sur vn sable qui est proche de deux petites Islettes qui sont entre lisle de Sapanapoko et Tapelraka ou nous desmourasmes a sec a la marre nous nous mismes a peine a flot et courusme vers le village de Sapanapoko rangeant tousiours lisle sur bon fond la nous enchrasmes nous trouuasmes Pieter Janss qui nous auions laisse eschoué qui auoit desia assemblé les Anglois et Hirlandois ils nous assurerent que Pieter Arianss de Flixegue auoit esté attaque dun grand nauire espagnol qui auoit 8 pieces de fonte et de 120 preaux et que appres auoir combatu vn iour et vne nuict nayant que 32 hommes et deux petits pieces de canon et voyant ne se pouuoir sauuer pour estre eschoué sur

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On Thursday the 26th we ran towards the said 1623 Roohoeck, running West a quarter South, passing between two sand-banks; but on approaching the land we saw some rocks at the distance of a musket shot from the said Roohoeck, which kept us more in the offing. We passed between the mainland [and] the Island of Tapelraka by a channel 300 paces wide and 4 and 5 fathoms deep. The Island of Tapelraka and the mainland are raised above the level of the water more than 15 feet. At the outlet of the channel we saw a high island at the mouth of a beautiful and deep river, where we anchored, thinking that this was Sapanapoko.

1623 October 26

On Friday we came out of the said river, running towards the North point of Sapanapoko, but we grounded on a sand-bank near two little islands which are between the Islands of Sapanapoko and Tapelraka, where we lay high and dry. At high tide we barely managed to float off, and ran towards the village of Sapanapoko, coasting all the time along the island on a good bottom. There we anchored. We found that Pieter Jansz, whom we had left aground, had already assembled the English and Irish. They assured us that Pieter Ariansz of Flushing had been attacked by a large Spanish ship which had 8 bronze cannon and 120 matchlocks 1 and that, after fighting for a day and a night, having only 32 men and two small pieces of cannon and seeing he could not save himself from being

¹ Though considered as hand weapons and carried as such, they were too heavy to fire without a rest, and the favorite place for such disposition was the battlements of walls or the bulwarks of a ship.

1623 vn sable a lemboucheure d'Okiari il auoit mis le feu 27 Octobre dans son nauire.

Le Samedy nous montasmes nostre cheloupe.

Le Lundy [Dimanche] vingt neufiesme nous leuasme l'anchre pour aller a Okiari Riuiere ou demouroient les Anglois nous passasmes la Ligne equinoxiale qui trauerse vne petite isle qui est entre le vilage de Sapanapoko et Caillepoko.

I Novembre

Le Mardy [Mercredi] premier iour de Nouembre nous arrivasmes pres de Pieter Janss anchre en la Riviere de Tauregne habitation des Hirlandois.

Le Jeudi nous fusmes enchres deuant la Riuiere d'Okiari 40 minutes au Zud de la ligne entre icelle et vne Isle qui est au deuant le mesme iour on nous mena voir Tilletille habitations des Anglois six lieues dedans la dite riuiere et a vne lieue en terre nous le trouuasmes asses agreables pour estre vn lieu de campagne parsemée de petis bocages et de quelques estangs mais le lieu est en la plus part arride.

Le Salmedy quatriesme nous arriuasmes au nauire

Le Dimanche cincquiesme on nous mena a Ouarmeonaka entre habitations des Angloys cinq lieues plus haut que lautre et sur la mesme riuiere cestoit aussi vne agreable demeure aux deux places les Anglois auoient force champs pour planter le Toubac.

run aground on a sand-bank at the mouth of the Okiari, he had set fire to his ship.

1623 October 27

On Saturday we got our pinnace ready.

On Monday [Sunday] the 29th we weighed anchor to go to Okiari River, where the English were living. We passed the equinoctial line, which crosses a little island between the village of Sapanapoko and Caillepoko.

On Tuesday [Wednesday] the 1st of November we November r arrived near Pieter Jansz, anchored in Tauregne.² River, where the Irish live.

On Thursday we were anchored before Okiari River 40 minutes to the South of the line, between [the river] and an island opposite. The same day we were taken to see Tilletille,³ an English settlement six leagues within the said river and one league inland. We found it an agreeable place, being an open country studded with little groves and some small lakes, but the place is for the most part arid.

On Saturday the 4th we arrived at our ship.

On Sunday the 5th we were taken to Ouarmeonaka among the English settlements, five leagues higher than the other and on the same river. This also was an agreeable site. In both places the English had many fields planted with tobacco.

¹ Ocquaiari (Blaeuw, 1635).

² Taurege (Blaeuw, 1635).

^{*} Tilletelle (Blaeuw, 1635).

1623 7 Novembre Le Mardy septiesme estants de retour au nauire le Maistre s'enquit de nous si ces lieux nous plaisoient a quoy nous repondismes que non pour y planter des familles a cause que l'Espagnol estant desia placé à Para duquel lieu il pouvoit aller et venir a layde du flux et reflux ou bon luy sembloit en la riviere des Amazones ne manqueroit scachant qu'il y eut des familles de les visiter a leur deces de sorte qu'on estimoit qu'il valloit mieux aller au long la coste chercher quelque riviere ou lennemj s'il y venoit de Para ou Maragnon ne peut retourner sans aller reprandre le vent aux Essores et n'y peut amener d'Indiens.

Le Jeudy neufiesme de Decembre [Novembre] nous partismes d'Okiary pour retourner a Sapanapoko.

Le Samedy vnziesme nous arriuasmes a Sapanapoko.

Le Vrendredy dixseptiesme voyant le Maistre qu'il ne nous pouvoit laisser ny induire demourer auecq les Anglois il deliura aux Anglois 150 lb de Coucaul et 150 haches vn baril de poudre de 100 lb appres auoir faict pact auecq eux au nom de la compagnée il leur fit vn festin et comme il commanda de tirer le canon et pressant le cannonier pour cela le canon coupa le Mast de nostre cheloupe et blessa trois individus ce qui ammena

On Tuesday the 7th, having returned to the ship, 1623 Nowe replied No!—not for establishing families there, because the Spaniard, being already settled at Para, from which place he could come and go as he liked with the help of the tides in the River Amazons, if he knew there were families there, would not fail to visit them to their death; 1 so that it was thought better to go along the coast to look for some river to which the enemy, if he came there from Para or Maragnon, could not return without going to the Azores to pick up the wind, and could not bring any Indians.

1623 November 7

On Thursday the 9th of December [November] we left Okiari to return to Sapanapoko.

On Saturday the 11th we arrived at Sapanapoko.

On Friday the 17th the Master, seeing that he could neither leave us nor induce us to stay with the English, delivered to the English 150 lbs of coucaul,² 150 axes, and a barrel of powder containing 100 lbs. After having made a compact with them in the name of the Company he gave them a feast, and as he ordered that the cannon be fired and hurried the gunner to do it, the cannon ball cut the mast of our pinnace and wounded three people. This led to a quarrel

¹ That is, to come and kill them. According to the historian Hartsinck, this the Spaniards did only two years later, when they killed nearly all the Dutch colonists on the Amazon.

² Probably coucaut — cocoa, still one of the staple products of Guiana.

1623 17 Novembre

vne querelle du Maistre contre vn Matellot qui luy apporta ces nouvelles a terre ou ils beuuoient qui s'en
aggrit iusque la que le dict maistre fut blesse de deux
coups de couteau et pour le dernier comme foible de
vin et de sang on lapportoit au nauire il tomba en leau
ou il falut a noyer.

Le Salmedy dix huictiesme on raconstra le mast de nostre cheloupe.

Le Dimanche dixneufiesme les Anglois partirent nostre cheloupe les connoya et porta leur hardes.

Le Dimanche vingt sixiesme nous fismes voille de Sapanopoko et vinsmes enchrer a Tapelraka.

Le Lundy vingt septiesme nous vinsmes enchrer deuant roden houc et nous deuala a terre auecq force prieres nous trouuasmes vn fort beau pays de Campagne parseme de prayrie ou il y auoit de fort bonne terre nous trouuasmes force fruits appelles Gujaves qui sont de la grosseur d'une petite orange dun fort bon goust nous promenant par le pays nous trouuasmes vn cymetiere remply de pots de terre de diuerses formes et figures et dans iceux des ossemens de morts.

Le Mardy vingt huitiesme nous trauersasmes de la terre ferme vers les Isles ou nous nous eschouasmes entre cocqs Eyland et les autres Isles.

Le Mercredy vingt neufiesme nous enchrasmes proche l'isle d'Arouen.

Le Jeudy dernier de nouembre nous enchrasmes deuant le village d'Arouen.

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between the Master and a sailor who brought him the 1623 news on shore where they were drinking, which grew so violent that the said Master was twice wounded with a knife. Finally, when they were getting him, incapacitated from wine and loss of blood, to the ship, he fell into the water and was all but drowned.

1623 November 17

On Saturday the 18th the mast of the pinnace was mended.

On Sunday the 19th the English left, our pinnace conveying them and their belongings.

On Sunday the 26th we set sail from Sapanapoko and came to anchor at Tapelraka.

On Monday the 27th we came to anchor before Roohoeck and landed with many prayers. We found a very beautiful country covered with meadows, where there was very good land. We found much fruit called guavas, which are of the size of a small orange with a very good flavor. Walking about the country we found a cemetery full of earthen pots of different shapes and designs and in them bones of the dead.

On Tuesday the 28th we crossed from the mainland towards the islands, where we ran aground between Cocqs Island and the other islands.

On Wednesday the 29th we anchored near Arouen Island.

On Thursday the last day of November we anchored opposite the village of Arouen.

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1623 1 Decembre Le Vrendredy Premier de Decembre nous vismes deuant Sapno et dela a nutte muscade Eyland.

Le Salmedy nous vismes enchrer proche de la derniere Isle

Le Dimanche troiziesme nous enchrasmes enuiron son milieu.

Le Lundy nous enchrasmes a trois lieues du cap du nord.

Le Mardy cincquiesme nous fusmes enchrer trois lieues en mer au dessus le cap.

Le Sixiesme pource qua trois lieues de la coste il n'y auoit qu'une brasse et demie deau nous courusmes au large nous voyons la coste courir du Cap Ost et West quelque peu Nord.

Le Jeudy septiesme nous eusmes 2 degres 27 minutes nous enchrasmes au droit la riuiere Mackarj ou nous touchasmes a basse mer le courant estoit si violent que voulant a la marée retirer nos enchres nostre Cabestan fut rompu des la il y a 2 brasses deau a basse mer a la veue de la terre la coste court des 8 a 9 lieues du Cap Nord Nord West au soir nous vismes vne montagne ronde.

Le Vrendredy huictiesme nous eusmes 3 degres nous vismes la riuiere de Clapepourj ou trois ans auparauant

On Friday 1st December we came opposite Sapno 1623 and thence to Nutte Muscade 1 Island.

1623 December 1

On Saturday we came to anchor near the last-named island.

On Sunday the 3rd we anchored about the middle of it.

On Monday we anchored three leagues from North Cape.

On Tuesday the 5th we anchored three leagues out at sea above the cape.

On the 6th, because three leagues from the coast there was only one fathom and a half of water, we ran into the offing and saw the coast extending from the Cape East and West somewhat to the North.

On Thursday the 7th we were 2 degrees 27 minutes [North of the Line]. We anchored to the right of the River Mackarj, where we touched at low water. The current was so strong that when at high tide we wished to weigh anchor, the capstan was broken. From that on there are two fathoms of water at low tide. Looking at the land [we saw that] the coast 8 or 9 leagues from the Cape runs North North West. In the evening we saw a round-topped mountain.

On Friday the 8th we were 3 degrees [North]. We saw the Clapepourj River * where three years previous

¹ Dutch name for Nutmeg.

² River Arykary (Blaeuw, 1635).

³ River Quanaoueny?

1623 sestoit perdu vn nauire de Flexingues que le Masquaret 8 Decembre ayant trouue mal paré sur ses anchres auoit renuersé.

> Le Salmedy neufiesme nous vismes la coste courir quelque quatre lieues Nord quart a lWest.

Le Dimanche dixiesme nous vismes la coste courir NW enuiron trois lieues puis West vne lieue, au bout de laquelle estoit vne riuiere ou nous enchrasmes nous envoyames nostre cheloupe pour scauoir quelle elle estoit pource que quelques vns estimoient que ce fust Wyapoko.

Le Jeudy quatorziesme nostre Cheloupe raporta que cestoit Cassipoure nous leuasmes lanchre des la la coste court Nord Nord West iusques a Wyapoko.

Le Vandredy quinziesme nous enchrasmes deuant le cap dorange.

Le Salmedy sexiesme deuant lemboucheure de Wyapoko.

Le Dimanche dixseptiesme nous enchrames deuant Carippo sur trois brasses.

Le Lundy dixseptiesme [dixhuitieme] nous fusmes dans la riuiere de Wanari auecq nostre cheloupe voir Henry Fonston anglois qui habitoit la auecq trois negres.

Le Mardy nous allasmes de la a Commaribo ou nous demourasmes le lendemain.

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a ship from Flushing was lost, which having been 1623 insecurely anchored was turned over by a violent eddy December 8 of the tide.

On Saturday the 9th we saw the coast extending some 4 leagues North a quarter West.

On Sunday the 10th we saw the coast extending N.W. about 3 leagues, then West I league, at the end of which was a river, where we anchored. We sent our pinnace to know which one it was, because some of us thought it was the Wyapoko.1

On Thursday the 14th our pinnace reported that it was the Cassipoure. We weighed anchor. From there the coast runs North North West as far as Wyapoko.

On Friday the 15th we anchored opposite Cape Orange.

On Saturday the 16th opposite the mouth of the Wyapoko.

On Sunday the 17th we anchored opposite Carippo in three fathoms.

On Monday the 17th [18th] we were in the River Wanari with our pinnace to see Henry Fonston [Johnston?], an Englishman, who lived there with 3 negroes.

On Tuesday we went from there to Commaribo, where we stayed the next day.

¹ River Wiapoca (Blaeuw, 1635).

1623 21 Decembre Le Jeudy vingt uniesme nous reuinsmes au nauire.

Le Vrendredy vingt deuxiesme on nous mena voir le haut de la Riuiere de Wyapoko auecq la Cheloupe.

Le Salmedy vingt troiziesme nous entrasmes dans la riuiere de Scapome pour visiter l'habitation des Indiens qui nous apporterent trois pourceaux vn connin¹ et vne perdrix tous trouuerent le lieu fort bon et commode pour planter vne Collonie cest vne place plate et vnie releuee par dessus les marais qui l'enuironnent de dixhuit a vingt pieds eslongue de la riuiere de Wyapoko dune demie lieue le tertre ou sont les maisons est dun coste ceint de la riuiere d'Icaprimo scauoir vers le Zud de l'Ost et West elle est enuironnée dune terre innondée l'hiuer et deriere le nord separée de lautre terre dune vallee asses profonde et d'un ruisseau elle a de long deux cents pas et de large cent nonante cest vne place fort commode et bonne a garde pource qu'on peut empescher aysement la riuiere en coupant des arbres au trauers, elle est cincq lieues de Carippo.

Le Dimanche vingt quatriesme nous fusmes au village de Weypoko six lieues de Carippo nous trouuasmes ce village sur vne montagne platte et asses haute nous y trouuasmes aussi de fort bonne terre.

Le Mardy vingt sixiesme nous arriuasmes au Nauire.

Le Mercredy vingt septiesme nostre Maistre fit appeller les peres de famille vn a vn leur demandant s'ils auoient trouvé vn lieu a leur gré ils respondirent que Ouy et qu'ils desireroient y venir demourer auecq

¹ Old French name for "lapin," rabbit.

On Thursday the 21st we rejoined the ship.

1623 December 21

On Friday the 22nd we were taken in the pinnace to see the upper reaches of the River Wyapoko.

On Saturday the 23rd we entered the River Scapome to visit the settlement of the Indians, who brought us 3 pigs, a rabbit, and a partridge. All pronounced the place good and convenient for forming a Colony; it is flat and uniform, raised 18 to 20 feet above the marshes which surround it, and at a distance of half a league from the River Wyapoko. The hillock, on which are the houses, is bounded on one side by the Icaprimo River, that is to say towards the South; on the East and West it is surrounded by land which is flooded in winter, and in the rear, to the North, it is separated from the other land by a rather deep valley and by a stream; it is 200 paces long and 190 broad. It is a very good and convenient place to defend because the river can easily be obstructed by cutting trees and putting them across. It is five leagues from Carippo.

On Sunday the 24th we were at Weypoko village, six leagues from Carippo. We found this village on a flat and fairly high hill. We found there, also, very good land.

On Tuesday the 26th we arrived at the ship.

On Wednesday the 27th our Master called the heads of families one by one and asked them if they had found a place to their liking. They replied Yes! and that they wished to come and live there with their families, upon

1623 27 Decembre

leurs familles sur cela le Maistre leur dict qu'il auoit charge de Messieurs les Directeurs de les laisser la et de n'en renmener que deux cette parole estonna plusieurs dentreux qui commencoient a sexcuser diversement nostre Capitaine voyant cela desclara au Maistre qu'il estoit contant de demeurer si on luy vouloit bailler en la place des peres de familles qui sen vouloient retourner autant de Matelots ce qui luy fut accordé de sorte qu' auecq nostre dict capitaine demoura Louys le Maire et moy dentre les familles nostre Canonnier quatre matelots et le garcon du Chirurgien tous au nombre de neuf.

Le Jeudy vingthuictiesme on prepara tout ce qu'on nous vouloit donner qui estoit de Coucal hachet couteaux vn Pierrier auecq nostre Cheloupe.

Le Vrendredy vingt neufiesme nous partismes pour aller a Commaribo.

Le Samedy trentiesme nous arrivasmes au dict Commaribo.

1624 I Januier Le premier iour de lan 1624 nostre nauire partit pour retourner en Hollande.

Le sixiesme iour de januier arriua Pieter Janss enchrer a Carippo qui nous dit qu'il auoit brusle le fort

¹ Old French verb for "to give."

which the Master told them that he had orders from 1623 the Directors to leave them there and only to take December 27 back two of them. This astonished several of them, who began in divers ways to excuse themselves. Our Captain, seeing this, declared to the Master that he was ready to remain if they would give him in place of the heads of families who wished to return, the same number of sailors. This was allowed him, so that there remained with our said Captain, Louis le Maire and I (from among the families), our Gunner, four sailors, and the Surgeon's Mate — nine persons in all.

On Thursday the 28th they prepared everything which they were willing to give us, which was [?lbs.] of Coucal [cocoa?] knives, a small axes. cannon,1 with our pinnace.

On Friday the 29th we left to go to Commaribo.

On Saturday the 30th we arrived at the said Commaribo.

The first day of the year 1624 our ship left to return 1624 to Holland.

January I

On the 6th of January Pieter Jansz arrived and anchored at Carippo, who told us he had burnt the fort

¹ The Dict. de l'Acad. Franc. under "pierrier" says: "Sorte de petit canon dont on se sert principalement sur les vaisseaux pour tirer a l'abordage, et qu'on charge avec des cartouches remplies de pierres, de cailloux, de ferraille &c." Possibly a small cannon called a "saker," then much used on ships.

1624 que les Espagnols auoient faict audela Corperarj en 6 Januier l'Amasone.

Le septiesme nostre cannonier vint de Cajane nous raporter que nos gens auoient trouue vne plaine a costé de Cajane qui leur sembloit fort propre et qu'ils desiroient que nous y allassions mais la difficulté de retourner nous empescha ioinct que les Yayos ou nous estions a Commaribo nous tesmougnoient beaucoup dafection qui nous fit demourer.

Le dixiesme Januier nous achetasmes vn champ pour faire du Toubac d'Ariane du Texel qui nous cousta quatre haches.

Le vingt cinquiesme nostre Capitaine fut a Capoure auecq Louys le Mayre allant a la chasse ils trouuerent une Campagne au Nord West dudict Capoure eslonguee diceluy de lieue et demie elle estoit longue de deux lieues et large d'une parsemee de boscages et pleine d'herbe il y auoit en plusieurs endroits des places fort propres pour cultiuer le suchre et par tout bonne pour la tinture de cotton il laissa au dict Capoure Louys le Mayre.

20 Mars Le vingtiesme de Mars les Caribes de Cayane vinrent a Commaribo.

Le vingtdeuxiesme y arriuerent les Aricoures habitant la riuiere de Cassipoure ennemis des Caribes ce qui



MAP OF THE RIVER CASSIPOURE From the Journal

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which the Spaniards had made beyond Corperarj on 1624 the Amazons.

1624 January 6

On the 7th our gunner came from Cajane 1 to tell us that our men had found a plain on the Cajane that seemed to them very suitable and they wished us to go there, but the difficulty of returning prevented us; in addition to which the Yayos where we were at Commaribo showed us much affection, which induced us to remain.

On the 10th of January we bought of Ariane of Texel a field in which to grow tobacco, which cost us four axes.

On the 25th our Captain was at Capoure² with Louis le Maire. Having gone hunting, they found a country to the North West of the said Capoure, distant therefrom about a league and a half. It was two leagues long and one wide, studded with groves and full of grass. In several places there were very suitable spots for cultivating sugar and it was good everywhere for the dyeing of cotton. He left Louis le Maire at Capoure.

On the 20th of March the Caribs of Cayenne came March 20 to Commaribo.

On the 22nd the Aricoures, who lived at Cassipoure River and were enemies of the Caribs, arrived, which

¹ River Cajani (Blaeuw, 1635).

² River Cassipouri (Blaeuw, 1635), now called Cachipour. See March 22nd.

1624 estonna fort les Yaos amis communs des deux et comme ils se preparoient pour se battre par l'entremise de nostre Capitaine et desdicts Yaos la paix fut faicte entre eux a la charge que les Aricoures la demanderoient leur ceremonie fut que les Caribes les furent attandre au bord de la mer auecq leurs armes et leuans la fleche sur larc preste a descocher les Aricours prirent de leau et la verserent sur leurs testes cela faict les Caribes quittant leurs armees coururent dans les canoes des autres et les embrasserent a loccasion de ceste paix les vaos les traiterent ensemble huit iours ils ne se souuenoient point d'auoir iamais eu paix ensemble.

I Apuril

Le premier jour d'apuril nostre Capitaine fut a Massoure montagne qui est dans les Marais qui sont entre Commaribo et Wanari pour visiter les Aronakas v demourans il trouua la demeure fort belle et de bonne terre mais ils sont grandement incommodes de Mousquites.

Le vingt huictiesme d'apuril nous fusmes a Weypoko village habité des yaos scitué a six lieues de Carippo les Indiens du lieu nous menerent voir vne prairie qui est a l'Ost du village eslonguée diceluy enuiron demie lieue ceste prairie est longue denuiron vne lieue et demie et large de trois quarts de lieues couverts dherbe verde il y a en icelle de belles places pour le suchre le costan du coste de l'West est fort beau et la terre y est fort propre pour le Toubac proche du village de Weypoko il y a vn champ au Zud diceluy ou nous vismes du Toubac qui anoit ses feilles de deux pieds et demi de long et large d'vn pied.

greatly astonished the Yaos, common friends of the 1624 two, and as they were preparing to fight, peace was made between them by the intervention of our Captain and the said Yaos, on condition that the Aricoures should ask for it. Their ceremony was as follows: the Caribs obliged them [the Aricoures] to wait on the seashore with their arms and [as the Caribs] fitted the arrow to the bow ready to let fly, the Aricoures took water and poured it on their heads. This done, the Caribs, throwing down their arms, rushed into the canoes of the others and embraced them. On the occasion of this peace the Yaos entertained them together for eight days; peace having never been known between them before.

On the 1st of April our Captain was at Massoure April 1 mountain, which is in the marshes between Commaribo and Wanari, to visit the Aronakas living there. He found it a beautiful dwelling-place and good land, but they are very much inconvenienced by mosquitoes.

On the 28th of April we were at Weypoko village, inhabited by the Yaos, situated six leagues from Carippo. The Indians of the place took us to see a meadow which is to the East of the village, distant therefrom about 1/2 league. This meadow is about a league and a half long and three quarters of a league wide, covered with green grass. There are in it fine places for sugar. The slope toward the West is very beautiful and the land suitable for tobacco; near the village of Weypoko to the South of it is a field where we saw some tobacco which had leaves two feet and a half long and one foot broad.

Le Second jour de May nous fusmes a Cormery vil-² May lage ou habitent les Maraons scitué a vne lieuë au dessoubs de Weypoko et lautre coste de la Riuiere et a trois quarts de lieuës de Capoure nous trouuasmes la vne agreable place et ou l'Oreillan et cotton viennent abondamment.

> Le Quatriesme iour de May nous en retournant nous fusmes descendre a la pointe d'Apoteri ou la riuiere s'estroicist de sorte quelle na que 150 pas de large le lieu est haut et releué par dessus leau de 12 a 15 pieds avant des deux costes la riuiere nous iugeasmes si les familles venoient que ceste place seroit fort propre pour fortiffier.

27 Septembre

Le vingt septiesme de Septembre nostre Capitaine fut a Cayane voir les Caribes qui le receurent amiablement.

IO Octobre

Le dix d'octobre estant de retour il fut voir la montagne de Carippo pour dicelle voir de combien pres la compagne de Capoure approchoit la pointe d'Apoteri il iugea qu'elle l'aprochoit de quelque cinq cens pas.

Le 13th d'octobre s'en retournant il fut frappe du soleil qui estoit fort aspre ce iour la dont il tomba esuanoui dans la Canoe ce iour il arriua saisi dune forte fieure.

Le 15th iour d'Octobre par l'aduis de ceux qui auoient demoure en ce pays la auant nous nous le fismes seigner

The second of May we were at Cormery Village, 1624 where the Maraons live, situated one league below May 2 Wevpoko on the other side of the river, and at three quarters of a league from Capoure. We found there a pleasant place where Oreillan 1 and cotton grow abundantly.

On the 4th of May, when returning, we descended to Apoterj point, where the river becomes so narrow that it is only 150 paces wide. The land is high, raised 12 or 15 feet above the water, having the river on both sides. We thought that if the families came, this place would be very suitable to fortify.

On the 27th of September our Captain was at Cay- September 27 enne to see the Caribs, who received him kindly.

On the 10th of October on his return he went to see October 10 Carippo Mountain from which to see how near the country of Capoure came to Apoteri point. He judged that it was about 500 paces.

On the 13th of October in returning he had a sunstroke, as the sun was very strong that day, so that he fell fainting into the canoe and arrived this day seized with a severe fever.

On the 15th of October, by the advice of those who had lived in this country before us, we had him bled,

¹ Bixa Orellana — a small tree from the seeds of which a valuable red dye called arnotto or annotto is made. Orellana is the name that was at first given to the Amazon, after its discoverer, Francisco Orellana.

1624 ce qui le soulagea mais comme impatiant de repos il voulut s'aller promener a la mer il fut derechef s'en retournant frappe du soleil qui lui redouble la fieure.

Le 22 doctobre mourut nostre dict Capitaine fort regretté des Chrestiens et Indiens qui l'auoient pris en grande amitié ce iour nous le portasmes en terré le plus honorablement qu'il nous fut possible accompagnant le corps auec nos armes que nous deschargeasmes sur sa fosse trois fois chescun et nostre piece autant.

25 Novembre

Le vingt cincquiesme novembre nous fusmes a Malari vilage habité des Yaos scitué audessus du premier Wal en l'intention d'aller de la voir les Nouraques habitans au haut de la Riuiere de Wyapoko enuiron cinquante lieues de son emboucheure.

Le vingt huictiesme nous montasmes le second et troiziesme Wal et visitasmes les habitaons de Pranao Camiari et Tapoko, mais a cause que les eaux estoient trop basses nous ne peusmes monter plus haut le pays au dessus du Wal est fort agreable et les Maraons y habitans sont fort tractables il y [a] force bonne terre sur tout dans les Isles quantite de pourceaux vaches sauuages Cerfs et Poissons deau douce en tres grande abondance.

20 Decembre

Le vingtiesme Decembre voyant que les nauires ne venoient point comme on nous auoit promis et que nos charguesons estoient faillies craignant quauecq le

which gave him relief; but being impatient of keeping 1624 quiet, he wished to go on the sea again, returning from which he again had a sunstroke which redoubled his fever.

October 15

On the 22nd of October our said Captain died, much regretted by the Christians and Indians who had taken a great liking to him. This day we carried him to be buried as honorably as was possible for us, accompanying the body with our arms, which we each discharged three times over his grave and our cannon as well.

On the 25th of November we were at Malarj, a vil- November 25 lage inhabited by the Yaos, situated above the first Wal, intending to go from there to see the Nouragues, who live far up the River Wyapoko about 50 leagues from its mouth.

On the 28th we ascended the second and third Wal and visited the settlements of Pranao, Camiari, and Tapoko, but the water being too low we could not go up higher. The country above the Wal is very pleasant and the Maraons who live there are very tractable. There is plenty of good land, especially in the islands, and many swine and wild cattle, also deer and fresh water fish in very great abundance.

On the 20th of December, seeing that the ships did December 20 not come as they had promised us and that our stores 2 were giving out, and fearing that in time we

¹ Apparently intended for the Dutch word Val, or Waterval, meaning "falls" or "cataract."

² Merchandise, barter goods?

1624 20 Decembre

temps nous feussions contraincts de forcer les Indiens pour auoir les viures Nous assemblasmes les autres chrestiens qui estoient a Commaribo pour consulter ensemble ce que nous deuions faire tous furent dauis que pendant que nous auions encore quelque chose il falloit essayer a faire quelque Barque auecq laquelle nous peussions gasgner les isles de Caribes ou il y a presque tousiours des nauires desquels nous pourrions auoir quelque ayde pour retourner au pays ou pour pouuoir attandre les nauires de la Compagnée.

1625 I Januier Le premier iour de lan 1625 nous partismes de Commaribo pour chercher vne place au haut de la Riuiere a fin selon nostre resolution d'y pouvoir bastir vne barque au nombre de dix scauoir six de nostre et quatre autres qui s'estoient ioincts auecq nous.

Le troiziesme iour de Januier nous arriuasmes a Tawya et Jnarj que nous trouuasmes les plus commodes tant pour le lieu que pour les viures.

Le quatriesme nous nous departismes aux deux places pour faire des planches a quoy nous nous employasmes si bien que combien que neussions que des haches et planes sans aucunes scies nous fismes en six semaines 150 planches de 20 pieds de long et vn de large auecq laquelle Sternes Courbes et autres choses necessaires.

to Mars

Le 10 de Mars les Yaos nous vinrent querir pour aller a la guerre contre les Mays ennemis communs de tous les autres Indiens quelques vns estoient daduis de con-

should be obliged to force the Indians to give us food, 1624 we assembled the other Christians who were at Commaribo to consult together as to what we ought to do: All were of the opinion that while we still had something, we ought to try to build some sort of craft with which we could reach the Caribbean Islands, where there are nearly always ships from which we could get help either to return to the country or to wait for the ships belonging to the Company.

On the first day of the year 1625 we departed from 1625 Commaribo to look for a place further up the river, in order, according to our resolution, to build there a boat. We were ten in number, that is to say, six of our own party and four others who had joined us.

On the 3rd of January we arrived at Tawya and Inarj, which we found most convenient as to both situation and provisions.

On the 4th we went to both places to cut planks, at which we employed ourselves so well that although we had only axes and planes and no saws, in six weeks we had 150 planks 20 feet long and 1 foot wide, with bows,1 knees, and other necessary things.

On the 10th of March the Yaos came to ask us to go March 10 to war against the Mays, the common enemies of all the other Indians. Some were of the opinion that we

^{1 &}quot;Sternes" does not seem to be connected with the English word meaning the stern of the ship but with the Latin and French word sternum — breast-bone, especially of birds; and so the word is here translated "bows."

1625 tinuer nostre entreprise les autres dobtemperer aux Yaos et les suiure le dernier aduis fut suivj et fusmes cincq auecq eux laissant les autres pour faire prouision de Gomme pour poisser nostre Barbe [Barque?] et descorcer de certain arbre fort propre pour faire les Chordages.

Le quatorzieme de Mars nous partismes de Commaribo pour aller a Cassipoure et de la aux Mays.

Le Seziesme estant entrés dans vne riuiere pour pescher nous vismes vne seppent qui auoit la teste grosse comme celle dun aigneau de trois moys elle pouvoit estre longue de vingt cinq pieds et grosse comme la cuisse nous ne la peusmes iamais tuer.

Le dixseptiesme nous arrivasmes chez les Aricoures qui aduertoient leurs gens de nostre venue et dessein.

Le 21th nous nous trouuasmes 150 Canoes et bien 500 hommes ce jour nous partismes.

Le 23^{ie} de Mars comme nous approchions les Mays sur les neuf heures et demie du soir nous vismes la lune eclipsee ce qui estonna tellement tous nos Indiens qu'ils estoient comme fols et hors du sens car ils sautoient et dansoient dans leau ils nous dirent que cestoit vn presage que les Mays les tueroient tous nous les assur-

should continue our enterprise; others that we should 1625 comply with the request of the Yaos and accompany them. The latter advice was followed and five of us went with them, leaving the others to gather enough gum to pitch our hull and prow 1 and to strip off from certain trees bark suitable for making ropes.

On the 14th of March we left Commaribo to go to Cassipoure and from there to the Mays.

On the 16th, having come into a river to fish, we saw a serpent which had a head as large as a lamb three months old. It must have been 25 feet long and as thick as the thigh; we could never have killed it.

On the 17th we arrived at the Aricoures, who warned their people of our arrival and design.

On the 21st we found that we had 150 canoes and fully 500 men. We left this day.

On the 23rd of March as we approached the Mays at half past nine in the evening, we saw an eclipse of the moon, which so much astonished all our Indians that they were like men mad and out of their senses, for they leapt and danced in the water and told us that it was a forewarning that the Mays would kill them all. We assured them of our power and at last they

¹ The Dict. de l'Acad. Franc. says under "Barbe" (Marine): "Se dit Des bouts de bordage qui entrent dans le bas de la rablure de l'entrave," — which would seem to correspond as nearly as possible to our "hull and prow" the part most needing caulking.

1625 asmes de nostre pouvoir en fin ils passerent leur furie a tirer des fleches (au bout desquelles y auoit des charbons ardans) vers la lune lappellant meschante.

Le 24^{le} de Mars a la pointe du jour nous approchasmes un des villages des Mays auquel v auoit quatre maisons dont l'une auoit 1000 pieds de long enuironnant le village de peur qu'ils ne sortissent pour aduertir les autres au dit jour nos gens enuoyerent denoncer leur venue a leurs ennemis qui (euant qu'ils vissent des Chrestiens et des arms dont ils n'auoient quoy parler) ne firent que se rire et les mespriser nous mismes le feu dans vne maison mais les autres se deffendoient si bien que nous n'y peusmes iamais entrer elles estoient enuironnées de galleries faites de palmites et fort bien flancquees mais ce qui me fit fort esmerueiller cest que nonobstant nos mousquetades ils venoient sans craindre nous tirer des coups de fleches a la longeur dune picque nous approchasmes auecq petis canons 1 a la faueur de leurs maisons tesmoicgnans l'enuie quils auoient de desfendre la liberte de leurs femmes et enfans au despens de leur vie qu'ils mesprisoient d'un courage inuicible mesme i'en vis cincq dans vn canöe qui sans sestonner se firent tuer l'un appres lautre le dernier desquels appres auoir eu la jambe coupeé d'une balle ramée s'assit dans le canoe et tira ses fleches tant qu'il eut vne goute de sang sur les neuf heures arriuerent trois grands canoes au secours de leurs voisins qui malgré les fleches de nos Indiens passerent au trauers la moitié des Canoes de leurs ennemis et neust esté q'un Angloys de deux coups de mousquets chargés de balles

¹ Undoubtedly meant for canoes.

expended their frenzy by shooting arrows (at the end 1625 of which were live coals) towards the moon and calling March 23 it wicked.

On the 24th of March at daybreak we approached one of the villages of the Mays in which there were four houses, of which one was one thousand feet long. We surrounded the village for fear they should go out to warn the others. On the said day our Indians sent to announce their arrival to their enemies, who (before they saw any Christians and arms of which they knew only from hearsay) did nothing but laugh at and deride them. We set fire to one house, but the others were so well defended that we could never get into them. They were surrounded by galleries made of palmetto and very well protected, but what I marveled at greatly was that in spite of our musket shots they [the Mays] advanced fearlessly to discharge their arrows at us within a pike's length. We approached in small canoes under cover of their houses, witnessing their eagerness to defend the liberty of their wives and children at the expense of their own lives, which they risked with unconquerable courage. I even saw five of them in a canoe who, quite unmoved, allowed themselves to be killed one after the other, the last of whom, after having his leg cut off by a chain-shot,1 seated himself in the canoe and shot his arrows as long as he had a drop of blood left. Towards nine o'clock three large canoes arrived to help their neighbors, who, in spite of the arrows of our Indians, passed through half the canoes of their enemies; and had it not been that an Englishman, by two discharges of muskets loaded

¹ Two or three balls fastened together with wire.

1625 de pistolets en blessa quatre et tua quatre autres ils eussent passé oultre mais ces deux coups qui auoient tant faict dexecution estonne tellement ceux des deux autres canoes quils sen fuirent laissant quatorze personnes qui restoient en vie a la merci de leurs ennemis qui les assommerent tous cela faict voyant la cruaute de nos gens et le courage des autres nous denonceasmes a nos Indiens que nous naujons plus de pouldre ce qui les fit partir appres auoir coupé les testes des mortes et les emportans en triomphe au bout de leurs dards nous emmenasmes trois Indiens pour esclaues laissant de l'ennemi plus de 120 morts et beaucoup de blesses des nostres en fut tue vn et 50 blessés ce iour nous retournasmes coucher ches les Aricoures.

Le vingt neufie arriuasmes a Commaribo.

I Apuril

Le premier iour d'Apuril nous fusmes visiter vn petit nauire françois qui en nostre absence estoit arriué a Wyapoko il nous aduertit de la prise de la Baye par nos gens il nous promit de nous donner des Chargesons mais le soir venue il fit voille sans nous dire a Dieu de peur qu'il auoit de nous.

Le quinziesme d'Apuril nous retournasmes a Tawya & Inarj pour continuer nostre barque.

Le dix huictiesme nous commenceasmes a la monter sur vne Quille de 30 pieds luy donnant 36 pieds entre les sternes et douze de large suiuant la proportion de nostre cheloupe.

with pistol balls, wounded four of them and killed four others, they would have passed through, but these two shots which did so much execution astonished those in the other two canoes so greatly that they fled, leaving fourteen people that were still living at the mercy of their enemies, who massacred them all. This done, seeing the cruelty of our people and the courage of the others, we informed our Indians that we had no more powder, which induced them to come away, after cutting off the heads of the dead and carrying them away in triumph on the end of their spears. We brought away three Indians as slaves, leaving of the enemy more than 120 dead and many wounded. Of our force one was killed and 50 wounded. That day we returned to sleep with the Aricoures.

1625 March 24

On the 29th we arrived at Commaribo.

On the 1st of April we visited a small French ship April 1 which had arrived at Wyapoko in our absence. They notified us of the taking of the Bay 1 by our people and promised to give us some articles for barter; but when the evening came, sailed away without bidding us good-bye because of their fear of us.

On the 15th of April we returned to Tawya and Inarj to go on with our boat.

On the 18th we began to put it on a keel of 30 feet, giving it 36 feet from stem to stern and 12 feet beam, following the proportions of our pinnace.

¹ Bay of San Salvador.

1623 23 May Le vingt troiziesme de May arriva au dict Tawya la Cheloupe du nauire nomme le Dragon verd sur lequel commandoit Gelin van Stabels de Flixingue qui auoit este auecq l'admiral Lucifer en la Riuiere des Amazones y porter le Capitaine Odan et quatre vingts a cent soldats il trouva nostre barque sy auance que dans trois semaines nous esperions la mettre a leau ayant desia preparé les voilles de nos Amakes le dit Gelin nous dict qu'il auoit charge de Messieurs les Directeurs de la Compagnee de West Inde en la Chambre de Zeeland de nous emmener ce qui nous rejouit beaucoup.

Le vingt quatriesme ledict Maistre fit faire vne flotte des planches que nous auions de reste et appres auoir chargé les fers de nostre cheloupe et nos hardes nous emmena au nauire.

Le vingt septiesme nous fusmes a Commaribo querir le reste de nos hardes.

Le vingt huictiesme estant de retour nous fismes voille de Wyapoko courant Nord West de Nord vers constabel Eyland.

Le vingt neufiesme nous arriuasmes au droict de la dicte Isle.

Le trentiesme arriuasmes enchrer a l'emboucheure de la riuiere sur trois brasses fond de sable et claye

¹ Probably intended for "hamacs."

On the 23rd of May there arrived at the said Tawya 1625 the boat of a ship called the "Green Dragon," which was commanded by Gelyn van Stapels of Flushing, who had been with Admiral Lucifer in the River of the Amazons conveying there Captain Odan and eighty to one hundred soldiers. He found our boat so advanced that in three weeks we had hoped to launch it, having already made sails out of our hammocks.2 The said Gelvn told us that he was charged by the Directors of the West India Company in the Zeeland Chamber to take us with him, which gave us great joy.

On the 24th the said Master caused a raft to be made of the planks which we had left over, and after loading thereon the iron work from our pinnace and our clothing, took us with him to the ship.

On the 27th we were at Commaribo to collect the rest of our belongings.

On the 28th we got back and set sail from Wyapoko, running North West by North towards Constable's Island.

On the 20th we arrived on the right of the said island.

On the 30th we arrived and anchored at the mouth of the river in three fathoms, a bottom of mixed sand

¹ The Flying Dragon, probably called "Green Dragon" by the scribe because of its color.

² The native women made beautifully fine and very strong cotton hammocks, called "hamaka."

1625 mesles ensemble. de Cayane la coste despuis Commaribo iusques a Cawo court Nord West de Commaribo a Apperwaka il y a cincq lieues Constabels Eyland est a lOst de lemboucheure de la riuiere d'Aperwaka d'Aperwaka a Cawo il y a deux lieues de Cawo a Wya il y a deux lieues Nord West vn peu plus West de Caya a Cayane riuiere il y a deux lieues lisle court de la riuiere Wya Nord West trois quarts de lieues puis West quart au Nord trois quarts de lieues et Zud West quart a l'West demie lieu a lembouchure de la riuiere Nord dicelle il y a vn roche descouuere qui est vne lieue et demie en mer aux deux points du milieu de lisle il y a des rochers qui se couvrent deau a haute maree a lemboucheure de Wya il y a cincq Islettes dont quatre sont Nord dicele et la cincquie est Nord West quart au Nord.

Le dernier [premier] de juin les Caribes e Cajane I Juin nous apporterent quelque boys de lettre et vne Tortue de mer qui pesoit cincq cent liures.

> Le second jour de juin nous partismes de Cajane prenant nostre cours Nord West et Nord West vers West pour passer entre la terre et les Isles de Manemanorj ou nous arriuasmes ce jour la Coste despuis Cajane vers la riuiere de Manamanori court deux lieues Nord West et Nord West quart au Nord puis Nord

and clay. From Cayenne the coast beyond Commaribo 1625 to Cawo extends North West. From Commaribo to May 30 Apperwaka is five leagues. Constable's Island is to the East 1 of the mouth of Aperwaka River. From Aperwaka to Cawo is two leagues; from Cawo to Wya two leagues North West a little more West; from Caya to Cayenne River is two leagues. The island extends from Wya River North West three quarters of a league, then West a quarter North three quarters of a league, and South West a quarter West half a league. At the mouth of the river, north of it, there is a bare rock which is a league and a half out at sea; at the two central points of the island are rocks which are covered with water at high tide. At the mouth of Wya there are five small islands, four of which are North of it and the fifth North West a quarter North.

The first day of June the Caribs of Cayenne brought June 1 us some letter-wood 2 and a turtle which weighed 500 pounds.

On the 2nd of June we left Cajane, taking our course North West and North West towards the West to pass between the mainland and the islands of Manemanori, where we arrived the same day. The coast from Cayenne towards Manemanori River runs two leagues North West and North West a quarter North, then

¹ North West according to map of Guiana in Blaeuw's atlas of 1635.

² Piratinera guianensia. Letter or leopard or speckle wood. A very valuable wood as hard as ebony and weighing about eighty pounds to the square foot. It was worth £30 or £40 sterling a ton. Of a rich brown or reddish color with curious black markings. Now exceedingly rare.

your lieue et demie il y a force rochers au Nord sont les Isles de Manemanori qui sont quatre eslongnees de deux lieues et demie de la Riuiere de Manemanori iusques a Icarouari la coste court encore Nord West quart a lWest et West Nord West mais d Icarouari a Sinamari la coste court West Nord West quatre lieues au Nord West d' Icarouari il y des rochers a demie lieu

lieues.

Le quatriesme iour de May [Juin] nous arriuasmes a Maruine ou nous trouuasmes le petit nauire françois qui chargeoit de bois de lettre il dict quil sen estoit allé sans parler pource qu'il craignoit que nous ne saisissions son nauire et qu'il croioit estre aysé nayant que treze homes a son bord. nous prismes du boys de lettre en ceste Riuiere et force Cassaue.

de Terre de Sinamarj a Marayny la coste court West quart au Nord et West Nord West par lespace de seze

Le vingt sixiesme de Jeuillet nous leuasmes l'anchre pour partir mais estans a l'emboucheure nous nous eschouasmes auecq peril du nauire.

2 dout Le second iour d'Aougst au gros de maline nous sortismes de Maruyne passant sur les sables prenant nostre cours vers Soraname.

North West a quarter West and West North West six 1625 leagues as far as the said river, about a league and a half to the North East of which river there are a great many rocks. To the north are the Manemanori Islands, four in number, distant two leagues and a half from Manemanori River. As far as Icarouari the coast runs still North West a quarter West and West North West, but from Icarouarj to Sinemarj the coast runs West North West. Four leagues to the North West of Icarouari there are rocks at half a league from land. From Sinamari to Moragny the coast runs West a quarter North and West North West for a distance of sixteen leagues.

On the 4th of May [June] we arrived at Maruini,1 where we found the small French ship loading letterwood. [The Master] said he had gone away without speaking because he feared that we would seize his ship, which he thought would be easy as he had only thirteen men on board. We got some letter-wood in this river and much cassava.2

On the 26th of July we weighed anchor to depart, July 26 but being at the mouth we ran aground with great danger to the ship.

On the 2nd of August at the height of the spring tide August 2 we went out of Maruyne, passing over the sand-banks. taking our course towards Surinam.

¹ Possibly the Maroni, a river forming the boundary between French and Dutch Guiana.

² A sort of meal prepared from the dried root of the manioc (Manihot utilissima or Bitter Cassava), familiar to us under the forms of tapioca and arrowroot.

1625 3 Aoust Le troiziesme nous arriuasmes a Soraname ou nous trouuasmes l'Aigle noir Vis admiral de Lucifer qui auoit pris quelques bois de lettre que ses gens auoient coupe la coste de Maruyne court Nord West 4 lieues et West 14 lieues iusques a Soraname.

Le douziesme d'Aoust nous partismes de Soraname pour aller a Ezikebe.

Le quatorziesme nous arriuasmes au droict de Berbice ou nous envoyasmes la Cheloupe pour traicter.

Le Quinziesme nous arriuasmes a Demelarj la coste despuis Soraname jusques pres Coretine court West et de la a Demelarj Nord West.

Le Seziesme nostre Cheloupe fut a Ezikebe pour porter nostre maistre au bord de l'Admiral de scauoir sa volunté.

Le vingt deuxiesme nostre Cheloupe estant de retour nostre nauire fut a Ezikebe guerir le reste des marchandises que l'admiral y auoit laisse.

Le vingt huictiesme nous retournasmes dezekebe enchrer a Demelarj.

1, 2, 3 Septembre

Le 1, 2 et 3° 1 nous deschargeasmes l'admiral et Dragon verd dans l'aigle noir qui deuoit retourner au pays.

¹ Evidently meant for 1^r, 2^e et 3^e [Septembre].

On the 3rd we arrived at Surinam, where we found 1625 the Black Eagle, Vice Admiral Lucifer, which had August 3 taken on board some letter-wood cut by its crew. The coast of Maruyne runs North West four leagues and West fourteen leagues as far as Surinam.

On the 12th of August we left Surinam to go to Essequibo.

On the 14th we arrived to the right of Berbice, where we sent the pinnace to trade.

On the 15th we arrived at Demerara. The coast from Surinam nearly to Coretine runs West and from there to Demerara North West.

On the 16th our pinnace went to Essequibo to take our Master on board the Admiral's ship to know his wishes.

On the 22nd, our pinnace having returned, our ship went to Essequibo to fetch the rest of the goods which the Admiral had left there.

On the 28th we returned from Essequibo and anchored at Demerara.

On the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd [September] we unloaded September 1, 2, 3 [the cargoes of] the Admiral ['s ship?] and the Green Dragon, into the Black Eagle, which was to return to the country [Holland].1

¹ The wording of this entry is somewhat ambiguous. The Admiral was then on the Essequibo but whether on board

1625 9 Septembre Le neufiesme de Septembre nous partismes de Demelarj prenant nostre cours Nord Ost vers les Isles des Caribes.

Le Dixiesme nous continuasmes meme cours.

Le onziesme nous prismes nostre cours Nord quart a l'Ost et Nord.

Le Douziesme nous mismes au Nord Nord West a midy nous eusmes 10 degres de hauteur.

Le Dimanche quatorziesme vers le soir nous vismes vne montagne ronde qui est entre les Islettes des Grenadins qui estoit a lWest quart au Nord de nous enuiron cincq lieues nous courusmes la nuict en mer.

Le Lundy quinziesme nous courusmes vers Sainct Vincent.

Le Mardy Sixiesme a cincq heures du matin nous vismes la Lune eclipsee ce iour nous arriuasmes enchrer a Sainct Vincent en la Baye de Carakes sur 18 et 20 brasses cest vne double baye diuisee par vne montagne qui sauance en mer il y a en chescune partie vne petite riuiere qui court par vne belle vallee.

On the 9th of September we left Demerara, taking 1625 our course North East towards the Caribbean Islands. Septe

1625 September 9

On the 10th we followed the same course.

On the 11th we took our course North a quarter East and North.

On the 12th we put [the ship's head] to the North North West. At noon we were in latitude 10 degrees.

On Sunday the 14th towards evening we saw a round mountain among the little Grenadine Islands, which were to the West a quarter North of us about five leagues [distant]. During the night we kept out to sea.

On Monday the 15th we ran towards St. Vincent.

On Tuesday the 16th at five o'clock in the morning we saw an eclipse of the moon. This day we came to anchor at St. Vincent in Carakes Bay in 18 or 20 fathoms. It is a double bay divided by a mountain which juts out into the sea; in each part there is a little river running through a beautiful valley.

one of his ships or at the Dutch fort there, we cannot tell. The Journal says, under date of September 16th, that van Stapels went "au bord de l'Admiral," which sounds as if he were on board a ship. In this case his ship must have been the Arent, which had been cruising with his two other ships. Under this reading the translation of the entry on September 1st, 2nd, and 3rd should read as above.

The Admiral evidently at this time transferred his command to the Flying Dragon, which was to remain in the West Indies (see entry of September 19th).

1625 17 Septembre Le Mercredy dix septiesme nous prismes nostre eau.

Le Vrendredy dix neufiesme l'admiral Lucifer et le Dragon verd nous dirent adieu et prirent leur cours vers la grenade et l'Aigle noir ou nous estions vers hollande ce iour nous vismes Sainte Lucie.

Le Salmedy vingtiesme au matin nous estions a l'Ost de la Martinique peu apres nous vismes le Dominique au Nord Ost de nous a neuf heures nous vismes Guadaluppe.

Le vingt deuxiesme calme sur le soir se leua un petit vent.

Le vingt troizie a midy nous eusmes Saint Christophle a l'O de nous a cet heure nous nous trouuasmes auoir 17 gr 30 minutes de hauteur au soir nous passasmes entre Saba et Estacio peu appres nous vismes l'anguillade au nord q a lOst de nous la nuict nous calasmes la voille

Le vingt quatriesme a midy nous estions a l'Ost de Sombrere a cet heure nous eusmes 18 gr 28 m.

16 Novembre

Le 16 nouembre nous arrivasmes a flixinges dont Dieu soit loue.

On Wednesday the 17th we took in our water.

1625 September 17

On Friday the 19th Admiral Lucifer and the Green Dragon said farewell to us and took their course towards Grenada, and the Black Eagle, where we were, turned towards Holland. This day we saw Santa Lucia.

On Saturday the 20th in the morning we were to the East of Martinique. Shortly afterwards we saw Dominica to the North East of us. At nine o'clock we saw Guadeloupe.

On the 22nd it was calm; towards the evening a gentle breeze sprang up.

On the 23rd at noon we had Saint Christopher to the East of us. At that time we found we were in latitude 17 degrees 30 minutes. In the evening we passed between Saba and Eustatius; shortly after we saw Anguilla North a quarter East of us; at night we lowered the sail.

On the 24th at noon we were East of Sombrera. At that time we were in 18 degrees 28 minutes.

On the 16th of November we arrived at Flushing — November 16 for which God be praised.

Description de la Riuiere de Wyapoko

Wyapoko

Wyapoko est scitué sur quatre degres trente minutes au Nord de la ligne elle se viude avecq les riuieres d'Arcoa et Wanari dans vne baye qui a d'emboucheure trois lieues l'une des extremités de laquelle sappelle le Cap Dorange scauoir celle qui est vers l'Ost et l'autre Commaribo iust a l'West de l'autre, du Cap d'Orange la coste court en dedans la riuiere en se courbant Zud West quart au Zud iusques a la riuiere d'Arcoa lespace de deux lieues et de la Zud West trois quarts de lieues iusques a lemboucheure de la riuiere de Wyapoko a l'ost de ce cap est l'autre de la riuiere appellé Carippo remarqué par vne longue montagne appellé du mesme nom de Carippo. de ce Cap la coste court West Nord West trois quarts de lieues iusque a la riviere de Wanari de la la coste court Zud auecq une courbure lespace de deux lieues iusques a Commaribo haute montagne. De l'emboucheure de Wyapoko la riuiere court Zud quart a l'West deux lieues et demie iusques a la pointe d'Apoteri qui est la premiere place on rencontre la terre haute despuis Carippo car despuis iceluy de part et dautre il y a des marays innondés en tout temps cette pointe est fort propre pour estre fortiffiée car la riuiere y faict vn angle vn peu obtus la fauorisant de deux costés oultre cela elle est releuée par dessus la riuiere de leau de douze a treze pieds la riuiere en cet endroict est fort estroite et na pas plus de 150 pas ou 200 au plus de ceste pointe la riuiere court Zud quard [sic] a l'West iusques a Cormori pres de lieue et

Description of the River Wyapoko

The Wyapoko 1 is situated in latitude 4 degrees 30 Wyapoko minutes North of the equator. It empties, together with the Rivers Arcoa and Wanarj, into a bay three leagues wide at the mouth, one of the extremities of which is called Cape Orange, — that, namely, towards the East; and the other, Commaribo, exactly due West of the former. From Cape Orange the coast runs inland, curving South West a quarter South as far as the River Arcoa, for a distance of two leagues, and thence South West three quarters of a league as far as the mouth of the River Wyapoko. To the East [West] of this cape is the other [cape] of the river called Carippo, distinguished by a long mountain called by the same name — Carippo. From this cape the coast runs West North West three quarters of a league as far as Wanari River. Thence the coast runs South with a curve for the distance of two leagues as far as Commaribo, a high mountain. From the mouth of Wyapoko the river runs South a quarter West two leagues and a half as far as Apoterj Point, which is the first place where one meets high ground after leaving Carippo, for from that place on both sides are marshes continually flooded. This point is very proper for fortification, for the river makes there a somewhat obtuse angle, lending itself to it on both sides. Moreover, the point stands above the current of the water twelve or thirteen feet. The river in this place is very narrow only 150 or 200 paces at most. From this point the river runs South a quarter West as far as Cormorj

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¹ Now called the Oyapok, or Oyapock, the river separating French Guiana from Brazil.

Wyapoko

demie entre deux il y a plusieurs isles et rochers et la riuiere de Capoure qui mene a une place fort propre pour une Collonie De Cormorj elle s'encline en se courbant Zud West iusques au village de Weipoko lespace d'une lieue de la elle court Zud une lieue et de la elle se courbe vn peu vers le Zud quart a l'Ost et puis Zud quart a l'West iusques a la Kataracte ou Wal Ceste riuiere est habitee de trois nations scauoir Yayos Maraons et Nourakes il y a aussi des Arouakes qui habitent proches des montagnes de Wanari sur vne montagne qui est dans les marays qui sont entre elles et la mer appellee Massoure Les Yayos habitent Commaribo habita[ti]on asses fertille et agreable le village de Weipoko scitue sur une montagne grasse et qui a a dos vne prairie eslongues diceluy de quinze cens pas et vn autre village au dessus du premier Wal appellé Mallarj lieu fort agreable et ou la terre est fort fertille. Les Maraons habitent Capoure fort beau lieu de chasse pour la quantite de pourceaux qui sy amassent. Le lieu de Cormorj, Tawya, Inarj Woschj et au dessus du Wal comme Pranao, Camiarj et Tapoko demeures delectables pour la douceur de l'air qu'ameine vn petit vent frais et doux, pour la quantité de pourceaux et vaches sauuages qu'ils appellent Maypourj, mais sur tout pour labondance de poissons doux d'un excellent goust. Les Nouracques habitent au haut de la riuiere au dessus de trente deuxiesme Wal il y croist quantité de cotons et Oreillans qu'ils vendent aux autres Indiens plus proches de la mer. Il n'y a rien a traicter auecq les Indiens que des viures qu'ils ont abondemment

nearly a league and a half. Between them are several Wyapoko islands and rocks and the River Capoure, which leads to a place very proper for a colony. From Cormori it bends in a curve South West as far as the village of Weipoko for the space of a league; thence it runs South one league; and from there bends itself a little towards the South a quarter East and then South a quarter West as far as the cataract or Wal. [The banks of] this river are inhabited by three nations; namely, the Yaos, the Maraons, and the Nourakes. There are also the Arouakes, who live near the Wanari Mountains on a hill in the marshes which are between them and the sea. called Massoure. The Yaos live at Commaribo, a fruitful and pleasant enough place. The village of Weipoko is situated on a fertile mountain which has at the back a meadow stretching fifteen hundred feet and another village above the first Wal [cataract], called Mallarj, a most agreeable spot and where the land is very fertile. The Maraons live at Capoure, a very fine hunting country by reason of the numbers of wild hogs which gather there. The region of Cormorj, Tawya, Inarj, Woschj, and, above the Wal, like Pranao, Camiarj, and Tapoko, are delightful dwelling-places because of the sweetness of the air, produced by a gentle, fresh, soft wind; also because of the number of hogs and wild cattle which they call Maypourj, but above all for the abundance of fresh fish of an excellent flavor. The Nouracques inhabit the upper part of the river above the thirty-second cataract. They grow there much cotton and Oreillan, which they sell to other Indians who live nearer the sea. There is nothing to trade for with the Indians except eatables, which they have in

¹ See footnote, p. 247 of Journal.

Wyapoko encore que le Coton l'Oreillan et Toubac y viennent tres bien mais leur paresse faict qu'ils n'en receuillent que pour leur necessité il y croist force gomme Elemmi Il y a aussi en plusieurs endroicts de la Marcasite d'or et mesme de la mine sur tout a Commaribo et Carippo.

> Pour entrer dans la riuiere venant deuers les Amazones il faut courir si auant auant doubler le Cap que l'on aye le Cap d'Arcoa Zud quart a l'West lors il faut courir vers iceluy (pour esuiter vn sable qui est Zud Ost et N. W. de Commaribo et Arcoa) rangeant la coste tant que la sonde le permet mais des lors que vous estes de Commaribo Zud Ost quart a l'Ost il vous faut courir vers louuerture de la riuiere de Wyapoko pour esuiter vn sable qui est au Cap Zud d'Arcoa vous anchrant deuant Carippo sur trois brasses asses loing de terre autrement les anchres chassent pour ce que le fond est trop mal.

abundance; also cotton, Oreillan, and tobacco, which Wyapoko grow very well there, but because of their laziness they gather no more than they need for themselves. Much gum elemi grows there. Golden marcasite 1 and even lead are also found in several places, particularly at Commaribo and Carippo.

In order to enter the river coming from the Amazons one must run so far ahead, before rounding the cape, that Cape Arcoa is South a quarter West and then double back towards it (to avoid a sand-bank which is South East and N. W. of Commaribo and Arcoa), sailing along the coast as long as the soundings allow. As soon as one is South East a quarter East of Commaribo one must run towards the mouth of Wyapoko River to avoid a sand-bank which is at the Cape south of Arcoa, anchoring before Carippo in three fathoms far enough from land, otherwise the anchors drag because the bottom is too soft.

¹ The marcasites are species of "prismatic iron pyrites." There are two varieties — the pale or "white marcasite," which when polished is like burnished steel, and a yellow or golden one. They were much used in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as substitutes for precious stones, being cut and facetted like rose diamonds. They were also in demand among the ancient Peruvians as amulets, and the larger pieces of the pale variety were used for mirrors.

Description de la Riviere de Eziquebe

Eziquebe

Eziquebe est scituée sur sept degres au Nord de la ligne ceste riuiere est fort large a son emboucheure et que lon tient exceder plus de dix lieues mesme les Indiens estiment que dicelle on peut aller en l'Orenoque sans entrer en mer elle a son emboucheure diuisée en plusieurs canaulx entre lesquels il y a de grandes isles le canal du costé de l'Ost court Zud West entre la terre ferme et les Isles puis elle s'incline Zud l'espace de cinq lieues ou elle se diuise en deux bras et de la elle court lieues ou elle se diuise derechef elle est parsemée d'isles auecq beaucoup de bancqs de sables et mesme de rochers vers le haut cest une riuiere ou iamais nauire na entré sans s'eschouer car les sables y sont si durits que vous estes touché auant que la fonde vous en aduertisse Elle est habitée de Caribes et Arouakas les Caribes habitent le haut de la riuiere et les autres le bas. les Espagnols de Saint Omer y ont autrefois en commerce mais a presant ils nozent y aller Il n'y a lieu en toute la coste de Gujane ou il se trouve plus grande quantité d'Oreillan que la n'y qui soit meilleur il y a aussi forte boys de lettre mais plus brun qu'a Maruyne et Soraname il y a abondance de rafraichissemens sur tout de cassaue et fruits J'y aij veu un francois qui y auoit demeuré trois ans lequel me monstra une piece de Christal de montagne de la grosseur des deux poings au trauers duquel on pouuoit voir les lineaments de la face d'un homme tant il estoit clair il me dict quil lauoit pris au dessus du second Wal de la riuiere ou il v auoit une mine de Christal de que on en trouuoit au pied de la montagne ou elle estoit de fort grosses pieces que la rauine des eaux auoit



MAP OF THE RIVER ESSEQUIBO From the Journal

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Description of the River Essequibo

The Essequibo is situated over 7° N. of the Line. Essequibo This river is very wide at its mouth and has been held to exceed even ten leagues. The Indians maintain that from it one can ascend the Orinoco without putting out to sea. Its estuary is split into several channels, between which are large islands. The channel on the West side runs S. W. between the mainland and the islands; then bends S. for a space of five leagues, where it divides into two branches, and from there runs S. W. leagues, where it splits afresh. It is dotted with islands and sand-banks and even rocks higher up. It is a river where never ship has entered without running aground; for the sand-banks there are so bristling with sharp points that you graze before the soundings warn you. It is inhabited by Caribs and Arouakas: the Caribs live on the upper reaches, the others lower down. Spaniards from St. Omer formerly traded on it, but at present do not dare to go there. There is no place on the whole Guiana coast where is to be found a greater quantity of Oreillan than here, nor of better quality. There is also much letter-wood but much browner than at Maruyni and Surinam. There is also an abundance of provisions, especially of cassava and of fruits. Here I met a Frenchman who had lived thereabouts for three years and who showed me a piece of rock-crystal the size of your two fists, so clear that one could see the features of a man's face through it. He told me that he had found it up the river above the second cataract, and that there was a quarry of crystal there and that at the foot of the mountain one found large fragments which the mountain torrent had dis-

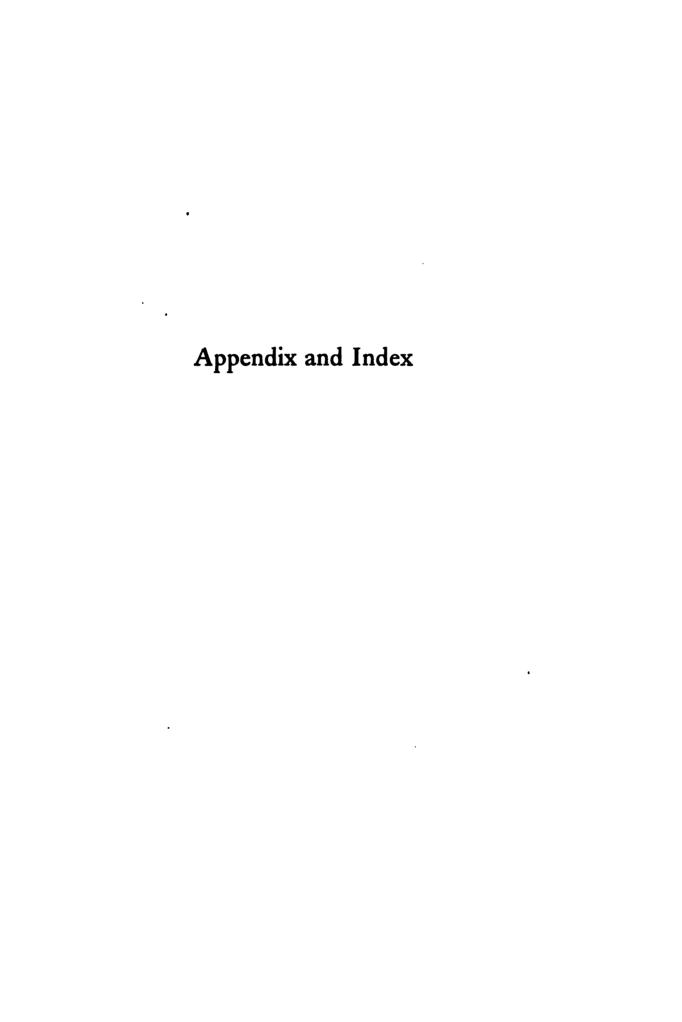
Eximele arrachée desquelles on pourroit charger infinis canaux il donna unne partie de la pire qu'il auoit a Gelain van Stabels de flisingues

> Pour entrer en Eziquebe de Demelarj il faut courir Nord West iusques a ce que vous ayes le Cap Ost de lisle qui est a l'emboucheure West de vous afin deuiter les Sables qui sont a la terre ferme et de la vous coures vers la dicte isle la rengeant d'asses pres iusques a ce qu'ayant l'extremité dicelle a lWest de vous vous coures vers la bande de lEst passant par vn canal entre des isles sur bon fond iusques a vn cap que faict la terre ferme de ce Cap vous renges la terre ferme de fort pret a cause des Sables iusques a ce que vous uenies a rencontrer une isle proche de la terre ferme du coste de l'Ost lors vous coures West uers l'autre costé de la vous renges les islettes que sont a la bande de West iusques a vn Cap qui est au dessus une petite riuiere de la vous renges la dite coste d West de si pres que vous pourroit y tirer une pierre iusques a un autre Cap qui est uis a uis de la premiere branche de la riuiere et de ce Cap vous coures vers la bande de lOst toujours sur bon fond.

lodged and with which one could fill numberless Essequibo canoes. He gave some of the poorest which he had to Gelain van Stabels of Flushing.

To enter the Essequibo from Demerera you must run North-West until you have the cape which is on the East of the island in the estuary on your West, in order to avoid the sands which lie along the mainland; and from there you run for the said island, hugging it as near as possible, until, having the extremity of this [island] on your West, you run towards the strip on the East, passing through a channel between the islands over a good bottom, as far as a Cape which the land here forms. From this Cape you skirt the shore very closely because of the sands until you come to an island near the land on the East shore, then you run West towards the other side. From there on you skirt the small islands which are on the Westerly shore as far as a Cape which is above a little river. From there you follow the said Westerly coast so closely that you could fire a stone to it, until you reach another Cape which is opposite the first branch of the river; and from this Cape you run towards the West shore, always over a good bottom.

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Appendix

GENEALOGICAL NOTES

THE CHILDREN OF
JESSE DE FOREST THE WALLOON (I, 1)
AND MARIE DU CLOUX

Baptisms at Sedan

2 Marie, July 7, 1602.
3 Jean, July 22, 1604.
4 Henry, March 7, 1606.
5 Elizabeth, Nov. 1, 1607.
6 David, Dec. 11, 1608.

Baptisms at Leyden

8 Jesse, March 1, 1615.
9 Isaac, July 10, 1616.
10 Israel, Oct. 7, 1617.
11 Philippe, Sept. 13, 1620.

7 RACHEL, 1609?

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I, I. Jesse de Forest had ten children and probably more, for the church records between 1609 and 1615 have not been found. When Jesse planned in 1621 to emigrate to Virginia, he proposed to take five children with him, and according to the Leyden poll tax of 1622 we know that the children then at home were Jean, Henry, Rachel, Isaac, and Jesse. With regard to the others we have scant information. Of Marie, Elizabeth, Israel, and Philippe we know nothing except that they had died or were no longer living with their parents in 1622.

II, 3. JEAN DE FOREST, b. 1604; d. 1668? m. 1633, Marie Vermeulen.

The eldest son (usually called Jan or Johannes) did not emigrate with his brothers and sister. In the old city archives at Leyden is to be seen the record of his marriage on March 9, 1633, to Marie Vermeulen and of

Appendix

their residence on the Haerlemerstraet. Jan was sometimes called a merchant and sometimes a dyer. One of the few mentions of him is his claim (for himself and his minor brother Isaack) to a certain portion of his brother Hendrick's estate. This incident has already been related in the foregoing pages.

A certain Jean de Forest, presumably the son of Jesse, died in Leyden on April 6, 1668.

II, 6. DAVID DE FOREST (b. 1608) also remained in Holland, though there is evidence that he visited New Amsterdam later, for he had a son baptized there in 1659. He could hardly, however, have remained very long, as we find no other mention of him and only a few years later, in 1665, he is in Leyden acting as guardian of his sister Rachel La Montagne's three grandchildren, the eldest of whom was the little Lysbet, who with her mother, Rachel La Montagne Van Imbroech, was carried into captivity by the Esopus Indians in 1663.

II, 7. RACHEL DE FOREST, b. 1609? d. 1643? m. 1626 Jean Mousnier de La Montagne.

Rachel had six children. Jolant, born 1627, died young. Jesse, born 1629, died soon after 1647. Jean (John), born 1632, died 1672; m. 1654 Peternella Pikes; was one of the first to take up land in the proposed village of Nieuw Haerlem, near his father's original bouwery. Rachel, born 1634, died 1664; m. Dr. Gysbert Van Imbroech. Maria, born 1637, m. Jacob Kip. William, born 1641, was still living in 1695; m. 1673 Elenora de Hooges.

By La Montagne's second marriage with Angenetie

Genealogical Notes

Corssen he had two sons, Gilles, born 1650, and Jesse, born 1653, who both died young.

II, 8. JESSE DE FOREST (1615-1639?) left Leyden in 1629 with church letters for some place the name of which is illegible but which might have been Tobago, where his sister Rachel then was with her husband. Jesse was married in 1634 in Leyden but was evidently no longer living in 1639.

The story of Jesse de Forest's three children, Hendrick, Rachel, and Isaack, has been told more fully in other parts of this book.

THE CHILDREN OF ISAACK DE FOREST OF NEW AMSTERDAM (II, 9) AND SARA DU TRIEUX

19 Philip, 1652-1727.
20 Isaac, 1655-1700?
21 HENDRICK, 1657-1715.
22 DAVID, 1660-d. y.
23 DAVID, 1663-d.y.
24 Maria, 1666
25 DAVID, 1669-1721.

The names of the fourteen children of Isaack and Sara and their baptismal dates are taken from the books of the Old Reformed Dutch Church in New York. In this record we see the names of many well-known men who acted as witnesses (sponsors) — such names as Jochem Pietersen Kuyter, Jan de Minuict, Jean de la Montagne, Philippe du Trieux, Gerrit de Forest, Hendrick Van Dyck (the Fiscal), Gysbert Van Imbroech, Willem Beeckman, Jacob Kip, and Johannes Verveelen. It is worth noting that two of the babies

were named Gerrit and that at the baptism of each one a Gerrit de Forest was a witness, giving rise to the surmise that Isaack's uncle, Gerard, visited New Amsterdam in 1646 and 1647.

An account of the seven children who survived Isaack and Sara follows.

III, 13. Susannah de Forest, bp. Jan. 22, 1645. m. 1665 to Peter De Riemer, the glazier.

They lived from 1686 to 1697 on the corner of Whitehall and Bridge Streets.

III, 18. John de Forest, bp. March 27, 1650.
m. June 8, 1673, Susannah, daughter of Nicholas
Verlet of Amsterdam, who had become one of the burghers in New Amsterdam.

John was educated as a "chirurgeon" or surgeon. In 1670 we find him "entertained as Cuirugion" on board the ship The Good Fame of New York, bound for England and Holland. At this time he was given a document which is endorsed, "Certificate of Denization from Gov. Lovelace to John Deforeest." This certificate asserted that "Whereas John Deforeest the sonn of Isack Deforeest an Inhabitant of this Citty was here att the surrend! thereof," and was a "free Denizen of this Colony," he was entitled to hold land in any of his Majesty's dominions and also to trade or traffic therein.

On November 30, 1680 (or 1681), John purchased eight acres of land on Hoorn's Hook, which he sold later. On February 20, 1682, he bought a house and lot on Beaver Street, New York.

 $^{^{\}rm 1}\,{\rm A}$ contemporary copy is to be seen in the archives of the New York Historical Society.

Genealogical Notes

He was still living in New York on October 4, 1687.

Children

26 Susannah, b. 1676. m. 1703 Robert Hickman. John's only child that reached maturity.

III, 19. PHILIP DE FOREST, bp. Jan. 28, 1652; d. Aug.,

m. Jan. 5, 1676, Tryntie, daughter of Hendrick Kip of New York.

Philip, as well as the rest of Isaack's sons, learned a trade, becoming a cooper. He moved to Albany about 1680, where he served as high sheriff and held other important offices.

In 1727 he died and was buried in Albany.

Philip was the ancestor of the Albany de Forests, the name, however, usually becoming corrupted in that locality to Defreest.

Children

- 27 SARA, bp. Jan. 2, 1678, New York. 28 SUSANNA, bp. April 1, 1684, Albany.
- 29 METJE, bp. July 25, 1686. 30 Isaac, bp. Feb. 20, 1689.

- 31 Jesse, bp. Jan. 13, 1692. 32 CATRINA, bp. Nov. 25, 1694. 33 JOHANNES, bp. Sept. 12, 1697. 34 DAVID, 1 bp. Sept. 8, 1707.
- m. Nov. 8, 1718, Abigail Van Aalsteyn. 4 sons, 4 daughters.

35 ABRAHAM, bp. Feb. 21, 1703.

¹ The old family Bible of Philip de Forest (1720–1791), son of David (b. 1700) and great-grandson of the original Isaack, is in the possession of the writer. It is a Dutch Bible, printed in Dordrecht, Holland, in 1741, and contains many illustrations and interesting maps. Its binding is of red leather with very handsome brass corners and brass clasps, and it measures about nine by fourteen inches. All the inscriptions are in Dutch and it is noticeable that the bills have a bill because of the property. able that while Philip recorded his own birth as "Phillip De Forcest," a later inscription in a different handwriting tells us that "Phillip De Freest" in 1791 "fell asleep in the Lord."

Appendix

III, 20. ISAAC DE FOREST (Jr.), bp. April 25, 1655; d. about 1700.

m. Sept. 4, 1681, Lysbeth, daughter of Lawrence Van der Spiegel.

Isaac was the only one of Isaack's sons who remained in New York, and he became a baker by trade. He held the office of deacon in the Dutch Church in 1690 and in 1696; he was also appointed Overseer of Public Works in 1699. In 1686 he was still living in Brouwer Straet, next door to his widowed mother. He died about 1700.

Children

36 Johannes, b. 1684; d. July 30, 1757, in New York. m. June 23, 1705, Catherine Van Ravenstein. 5 sons, 2 daughters.

37 Saran, 1686-. m. John Myer.

38 MARGARET, 1689-. m. Harman Rutgers.

39 Maria, 1694-. 40 Elizabeth, 1697-.

m. Rev. Antonius Curtenius.

III, 21. HENRICUS DE FOREST, bp. Sept. 9, 1657; d. 1715.

m. July 5, 1682, Fiammettia (Phœbe), daughter of Barent Van Flaesbeek.

Henricus was a glazier. "When the Town House at Harlem was being built in 1680, Henricus de Forest of New York did the glazing of the windows, the allowance for a day's labor being 5 guilders (\$2)." 1

In 1686 he lived in Beaver Street, the third house from Broad Street, two doors from the house of his brother John. Later he settled at Bushwick, Long Island, probably on the land which his father had used

¹ Riker, James. History of Harlem, Revised Edition, p. 370.

Genealogical Notes

as a hop-garden and orchard. There he became justice of the peace and held several other offices.

In 1705 he removed to Madman's Neck, Hempstead, where he had bought land, and became the founder of the Long Island branch.

He died in 1715. His will is on file in the Surrogate's office in New York. In it he calls himself a "yoeman."

Children

- 41 BARENT (or Barnet), 1684–1726? m. 1708, Catalina Sarley; m. 2nd, 1723, Elizabeth Verduyn. 2 sons, 3 daughters.
- 42 SARAH, 1686-.
- 43 GERRIT, 1689-1744. m. 1716, Cornelia Waldron. 2 sons, 2 daughters.
- 44 HENRICUS, 1691-.
- Apparently a sea captain.
- 45 Susannah, 1693-. m. Abraham Koning.
- 46 Рисеве, 1695-. m. Henry Cole.
- 47 Maria, 1696-.
- 48 Jesse, 1698–1755.
- m. June 14, 1719, Teuntie Titsoort. 2 sons, 1 daughter.

III, 24. MARIA DE FOREST, bp. July 7, 1666.

m. 1687, Bernard Darby of London, mariner; m. 2nd, 1706, Alderman Isaac De Riemer, son of her sister Susannah's husband, Peter De Riemer.

III, 25. DAVID DE FOREST, bp. Sept. 7, 1669; d. April 20, 1721.

m. 1696? Martha Blagge.

David, Isaack de Forest's youngest child, became the ancestor of the Connecticut branch of the de Forests, and a full account of him has already been given in this book. For the records of his children (IV, 49-58), see pp. 290-97.

THE CHILDREN OF DAVID DE FOREST OF STRATFORD (III, 25) AND MARTHA BLAGGE

49 Mary, 1696/7-.

54 ISAAC, 1706-.

50 SARAH, 1698-1765. 51 MARTHA, 1700-1764. 55 EDWARD, 1708-after 1758. 56 HENRY, 1710-about 1777.

52 DAVID, 1702-1748. 53 SAMUEL, 1704-1777. 57 ELIZABETH, 1714-1739. 58 Benjamin, 1716-1780.

IV, 49. Mary de Forest, b. Jan. 27, 1696/7.

m. July 21, 1720, Stephen Hawley, b. 1695, son of Samuel and Mary (Thompson) Hawley, and a member of one of the most notable families of Stratford.

Children

59 MARTHA, b. May 16, 1721; d. y.

60 HEZEKIAH, bp. June, 1722.

61 Nehemiah, bp. June, 1722. m. Phebe Peet.

62 Martha, bp. May, 1724.

IV, 50. SARAH DE FOREST, b. Nov. 9, 1698; d. June 8, 1765.

m. Dec. 24, 1719, Benjamin Lewis, b. 1696, d. July 7, 1759.

Benjamin Lewis was the son of Benjamin Lewis, who came to Stratford about 1676 or 1677 and married Hannah Curtis. Squire Samuel Lewis, son of Benjamin and Sarah, moved to New Stratford in 1755, preceding his cousin Nehemiah de Forest, by over twenty years.

Children

63 WILLIAM, 4 daughters. 64. NEHEMIAH, I child.

65 HEPZIBAH, bp. June, 1724.
m. 1743, Daniel Fairchild.
66 BENJAMIN, b. Sept., 1729.
m. Elizabeth — 3 8008, 3 daughters.
67 SAMUEL, b. June 23, 1731; d. 1808.
m. Feb. 3, 1753, Eunice Patterson. 4 sons, 1 daughter.
68 ISAAC, b. Sept., 1734.
m. 4 times. 6 sons.

IV, 51. MARTHA DE FOREST, b. April 13, 1700; d. Aug. 5, 1764.

m. Dec. 8, 1726, Elnathan Wheeler.

"Deacon Elnathan Wheeler," of Stratford, son of Moses, 3rd, and Ruth (Bouton) Wheeler, was a great-grandson of the first Moses Wheeler, the Stratford ferryman, and a descendant also of Sergeant Francis Nichols. Elnathan died March 14, 1761, and left an estate which was appraised at £1,619.

Nathan Wheeler, whose daughter, Mehetabel, married Lockwood de Forest, in 1793, was the grandson of Deacon Elnathan.

Children

69 Ruth, b. Nov. 27, 1727.
70 Martha, b. Nov. 1, 1729.
71 Sarah, b. Nov. 1, 1731.
72 Nathaniel, b. Dec. 7, 1733.
73 Elizabeth, b. Jan. 7, 1735/6.
m. Mar., 1758, Phineas Sherman.
74 Mary, b. Jan. 7, 1737/8.
m. Oct., 1758, George Lewis.
75 Elnathan, b. May 20, 1740; d. Feb. 14, 1809.
76 Eunice, b. Dec. 17, 1743.

IV, 52. DAVID DE FOREST of Wilton, 1st, b. April 24, 1702; d. 1748.

m. before 1726 Abigail, daughter of Ephraim Clark of Stratford.

Before 1747 he had apparently married a second wife, Rebecca ——.

After his father's death in 1721 he inherited the family homestead in Stratford. In 1728 he was chosen one of the three tithing-men in Stratford. In 1737 he sold his father's old house and the house lot to his fatherin-law, Ephraim Clark, and then moved to Wilton Parish, Norwalk.

In 1748 "David of Wilton" died, aged 46, and left an estate of about £4,000.

Children

77 HEZEKIAH, bp. Dec., 1726.

m. Mar. 2, 1748, Rebecca Raymond. 2 sons and 4 daughters. Served in the French and Indian War.

78 LEMUEL, bp. Aug., 1728.

m. Dec. 26, 1751, Phebe Keeler, daughter of David and Mary (St. John) Keeler. 3 children.

79 ABIGAIL, b. April 24, 1731; d. May 8, 1786.

m. Nov. 9, 1774, James Lockwood of Norwalk (2nd wife). 3_80ns.

80 DAVID, bp. July 1, 1733; d. 1790?
m. Aug. 5, 1754, Sarah Olmstead. 5 sons.
81 ELIHU, b. Nov., 1739; d. 1827.
m. May 4, 1761, Rachel Lambert, daughter of David and Lurania (Bills) Lambert. Resided at Ridgefield. 6 children. Served in both French and Indian and Revolutionary Wars.

82 Martha, bp. June 1, 1739, in Wilton.
 83 Ephraim, b. 1740; d. 1827.
 m. Sarah Betts about 1764. 6 children.

He fought in the French and Indian War. At the time of the Revolutionary War his land was confiscated by regular court proceedings because he was a Loyalist.¹ 84 SAMUEL, bp. in Wilton, May 3, 1746; d. 1795.

m. 1767, Eleanor Sterling. Served in Revolutionary War from 1775 until the army was

disbanded in 1783; was a lieutenant and an original member of the order of the Cincinnati.

IV, 53. SAMUEL DE FOREST OF MOOSE Hill, b. April 4, 1704; d. Mar. 24, 1777.

m. Dec. 30, 1725, Abigail Peat, b. 1706, d. September 21, 1776, daughter of Samuel and Abigail (Harvey) Peat.

¹ Todd, C. B. History of Redding, p. 77.

A full account of Samuel and Abigail de Forest has already been given. For the records of his children (V, 85-93) see pp. 297-301.

IV, 54. Isaac de Forest of Newtown and New Milford, b. Dec. 14, 1706.

m. Aug. 17, 1732, Elizabeth, daughter of Captain Stephen Noble.

In several records it is stated that this Isaac died leaving no sons, but on examining the evidence it seems more likely that he simply moved to Newtown and was lost sight of. At any rate, there was an Isaac de Forest "of Newtown" who moved to New Milford in 1727 and it does not seem possible that this could have been other than Isaac, son of David of Stratford. There was apparently no other Isaac de Forest who could have been in Connecticut at that period, nor was there one of the proper age except Isaac, born 1706, son of David of Stratford. The facts from which a deduction may be drawn are as follows:—

On April 20, 1721, David de Forest of Stratford died. On May 21, 1724, the appraisal of David's estate was made, and Isaac, then eighteen years old, chose his mother as his guardian.

On April 10, 1725, the estate was distributed.

On April 21, 1727, Isaac sold land "near ye Field Gate" (part of his inheritance from his father) to his brother Samuel. It is probable that he was already living in Newtown at this time.

On October 25, 1727, Isaac "of Newtown" bought of Zachariah Ferriss 41 acres of land in New Milford and settled there soon afterward.¹

¹ Orcutt, Rev. Samuel. History of New Milford.

On August 17, 1732, he married Elizabeth, daughter of Capt. Stephen Noble of New Milford.

Children

94 Isaac, son of Isaac and Elizabeth, bp. June 16, 1734; d. at Florida, N.Y.

m. Jan. 11, 1763, Rachel Bostwick.
Served in French and Indian War, 1757-58 as a private.
Served in Revolutionary War, 1776, as First Lieutenant.
His commission and leather wallet, in which a bullet lodged,

are in the possession of some of his descendants.1 Benjamin, the son of Isaac and Rachel, was born in 1764 and married Clarissa Canfield in 1788. They had I son, Isaac, and 2 daughters.

IV, 55. Edward de Forest of Stratford, b. July 25, 1708; d. after 1758.

m. June, 1733, Eunice, daughter of Samuel Uffoot (Ufford).

Edward was the only son of David de Forest and Martha Blagge who continued to live in Stratford. He died about 1758 and his estate, though not footed up, was clearly of considerable value.

Children

95 ZERUIAH (ZERUA), b. June 20, 1734; d. 1754. 96 Isaac, b. July 8, 1736.

I son.

Served in French and Indian War.

97 Elisha, bp. July, 1738; d. 1804.

m. Oct. 28, 1767, Sarah, daughter of Richard Hubbell. 3 sons, 5 daughters.

Served in both French and Indian and Revolutionary Wars.

98 EUNICE, b. Sept. 2, 1739.

99 Martha, b. Nov. 22, 1741.

100 Edward, b. Mar. 2, 1743.

101 John, b. Aug. 20, 1745. m. Abigail Walker of Woodbury. Settled in Woodbury. 5 sons, 3 daughters.

102 SARAH, b. Feb. 2, 1748.

¹ See Book of Lineages, Daughters of American Revolution, Washington,

103 Ann, b. Jan. 28, 1750.
m. Thomas Curtis.
104 WILLIAM, b. June 17, 1752.
Served in Revolutionary War.
105 Mary, b. Mar. 9, 1755.
106 Joseph, b. 1758.
m. Mar. 31, 1779, Anne Lamson. 4 sons, 4 daughters.
Served in Revolutionary War.

IV, 56. HENRY DE FOREST of Moose Hill, b. July 4, 1710; d. between 1773 and 1777.

m. 1746, Martha ——.

May 28, 1728, he chose for his guardian his cousin, Samuel Blagge, who gave bonds in £100.

He moved to Moose Hill after his marriage and died in his home there at some date between 1773 and 1777.

Children

107 HULDAH, b. Sept. 14, 1747. 108 HENRY, b. Mar. 15, 1750. Served in Revolutionary War. 109 TIMOTHY, b. Dec. 8, 1751. Served in Revolutionary War. 110 DANIEL, b. April 15, 1755.

IV, 57. ELIZABETH DE FOREST, b. June 4, 1714; d. Oct. 3, 1739.

m. Feb. 20, 1734, Josiah Marvin of Norwalk.

Josiah Marvin, b. about 1710 in Norwalk and d. about 1780, was the son of Lieut. Samuel and Hannah (Platt) Marvin. He was a prominent citizen of Norwalk and held many important public offices. He left an estate of £831 in land besides many valuable chattels.

The tombstone of Elizabeth de Forest Marvin is still standing in the Sharps Hill burying-ground.

Children

born in Norwalk of Elizabeth de Forest, Josiah Marvin's first wife.

111 DANIEL, b. 1736?

112 JARED, b. 1737?

113 Josian, b. 1739?; d. in the British army on Long Island during the Revolutionary War.

IV, 58. BENJAMIN DE FOREST OF Ripton, b. May 18, 1716; d. April 17, 1780.

m. April 18, 1744, Esther Beardsley, d. 1763.

Benjamin of Ripton was the youngest child of David of Stratford; his father died when he was only five years old and he remained with his mother and her second husband for twelve years. Then, being still under age, he chose as his guardian his brother David.

On April 18, 1744, he married Esther, daughter of Abraham Beardsley of Stratford. This is to be found in the record of "mr Gold yt married m"—the first record that we find of a de Forest being married by a minister.

In 1746 we find Benjamin established as a farmer in Ripton Parish. He was much occupied with public affairs, church matters, and school committees.

In 1763 his wife "Easter," as she was often called, died; he then married for a second wife Sarah ——.

Both he and Sarah died in 1780, in their sixty-fourth year, and lie buried in the Ripton graveyard.

Children

114 HEZEKIAH, b. Dec. 14, 1745; d. 1808, at Ripton. m. Mary Adams. 4 sons, 2 daughters.

115 NEHEMIAH, b. April 1, 1748.

m. Rebecca Blakeman. 1 son, 2 daughters. Served in the Revolutionary War.

116 Benjamin, b. Dec. 28, 1749; d. Aug. 1, 1784, at Ripton. m. 1773, Mehitable, daughter of Hezekiah Curtis. 5 sons, 1 daughter.

He was especially active on committees during the Revolutionary War.1

117 CATHERINE ("Cate"), b. Mar. 18, 1753.
m. Samuel Mallett.

118 ESTHER, b. May 29, 1755. m. Samuel Thompson and removed to Litchfield.

119 Isaac (Mier?), b. Dec. 16, 1758; d. Jan. 24, 1813, at Livonia. m. Mary (Polly) Gregory; settled in Livonia, Livingston Co., N.Y. 4 sons, 2 daughters. 120 Othniel, b. April 10, 1761; d. Feb. 18, 1811.

m. July 18, 1784, Hannah, daughter of Capt. Beach Tomlinson of Ripton: 3 sons, 2 daughters.

He was for a number of years clerk of the church in Ripton.

THE CHILDREN OF SAMUEL DE FOREST OF MOOSE HILL (IV, 53) AND ABIGAIL PEAT

85 MARTHA, 1726-.

90 SAMUEL, 1739- before 1770.

86 MARY, 1729-1817.

91 NEHEMIAH, 1743-1801. 92 DAVID, 1745-1783.

87 Јоѕерн, 1731-1777? 88 Нергіван, 1734-1831.

93 JOSIAH, 1748-1749.

89 Elizabeth, 1737-.

V, 86. Mary de Forest, bp. Feb. 3, 1729; d. Mar.

m. Oct., 1750, Elisha Mills, b. Mar. 26, 1732, d. April 7, 1816, son of Rev. Jedediah and Abigail (Treat) Mills.

He was a merchant in Ripton (afterward called Huntington) for many years, a very honored and respected citizen during the Revolutionary War and afterward. He was a delegate from Stratford with

¹ David C. de Forest, eldest son of Benjamin and Mehitable, was the "Don DeForest" whose memory is still kept alive in New Haven. As a young man he went to South America and there amassed a very large fortune. He afterward settled in New Haven and was the donor to Yale College of the "De Forest prize," a medal given annually for superiority in English composition and declamation. This is still the most coveted prize in the gift of Yale.

William Samuel Johnson at the time of the ratification of the Constitution of the United States. He was elected to this position because he was in favor of the Constitution against a large opposition. He was several times sent as the Huntington representative to the General Assembly.

Elisha died in Huntington in 1816, in his eighty-fifth year. Mary died in 1817, in her eighty-ninth year.

Children

121 Annie, b. Dec. 31, 1751; d. Dec. 29, 1831.

m. 1767, Agur Judson, d. 1837.

122 Mary, b. Nov. 28, 1753; d. 1784.

m. 1776, Elias Beers.

123 Hefsa, b. Sept. 2, 1755; d. 1803.

m. 1777, Rev. David Ely of Huntington.

124 Aurelia, b. Dec. 14, 1757.

m. 1784, Joseph Darling.

125 Abigail Elizabeth, b. May 26, 1760.

m. 1783, Isaac Plummer.

126 Sarah Apama, b. Oct. 19, 1762; d. Dec. 14, 1842.

m. 1783, Rev. Zebulon Ely, who was pastor at Lebanon during 42 years.

127 Elisha Treat, b. Jan. 14, 1765; d. Aug. 10, 1826.

m. Catherine Lewis, d. 1860.

He was a graduate of Yale. Removed later to Fairfield.

128 Isaac, b. Mar. 7, 1767.

m. Abby Phelps.

He was a graduate of Yale.

129 Samuel Peat, b. Mar. 12, 1769.

m. Sally Tomlinson.

He was a graduate of Yale.

130 William, b. Mar. 8, 1771; d. Dec. 10, 1773.

V, 87. Joseph de Forest, b. Nov. 17, 1731, in Stratford; died at about the same time as his father (1777).

m. Aug. 18, 1757, Susannah Mills of Windsor, Conn.

They lived in Stratford during their early married life but came later to the hill country.

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Joseph received from his father as part of his portion 15 acres of the family homestead at Moose Hill and built his own home upon this land. He died at Moose Hill about 1777, aged about 46 years.

Children

131 SAMUEL, b. July 15, 1758; d. Feb. 15, 1837. m. 1781, Mary Curtis, d. Oct. 18, 1840. 3 sons, 2 daughters. Lived later at Ballston, N.Y. Served in the Revolutionary War.

132 ABEL, b. April 28, 1761; d. at Binghamton, N.Y. m. Nov. 25, 1787, Mary (Polly), b. Aug. 2, 1764, daughter of Nathaniel Hawley of Stratford. Lived later at Edmeston, Otsego Co., N.Y. 4 sons, 3 daughters. Served in the Revolutionary War.

133 Mills, b. May 24, 1763. . Removed to Orange Co., Vermont; lived later at Lemmington, Vermont.

Served in the Revolutionary War. 134 GIDEON, b. Sept. 14, 1765; Dec. 9, 1840.

m. Nov. 5, 1793, Hannah Birdseye, b. May 29, 1773. Settled in 1795 at Edmeston, Otsego Co., N.Y. 5 sons, 3 daughters.
Served in the Revolutionary War.

135 SALLY, b. Oct. 3, 1767.
136 ELIHU, b. Feb. 6, 1771; died young.
Joseph's four sons, Samuel, Abel, Mills, and Gideon, as one of them said, were "all born under the same roof in Stratford." They served in the Revolutionary War and were known as "The Four Revolutionary Brothers." Samuel, Abel, and Mills returned after the war to Ripton township and were still living there in 1790. Later they removed as shown above.

V, 88. Hepzibah de Forest, bp. at Stratford May 29, 1734; d. Jan. 13, 1831.

m. 1757, Milton Hawley, b. Sept. 12, 1734, d. Jan. 10, 1819, son of Capt. Francis and Ann (Clark) Hawley.

Their house on Barn Hill, built at about the time of their wedding, is still standing.

Milton Hawley died in 1819, aged 85. Hepzibah, "Aunt Hepsy," died in 1831, aged 97.

Children

137 PHILENA, b. Aug., 1758; d. Mar. 15, 1786. m. William Scott of New Stratford, d. Jan. 1, 1824.

138 CYRUS (Capt.).

m. Mary, daughter of Elijah Curtiss. (Children: Jane, who married Linson de Forest; Charles Hawley, Lieut-Gov. of Conn.)

139 HEPZIBAH, b. 1762; d. unmarried, May 28, 1842, aged 80.

140 CHARITY, b. 1764. m. William Carpenter.

141 FRANCIS.

m. Betsey Ransom.

142 Elisha, b. 1769.

m. Nancy Blakman. 143 Nancy, "died early."

V, 91. NEHEMIAH DE FOREST of New Stratford, b. Jan. 24, 1743; d. Dec. 9, 1801.

m. 1st, Dec. 20, 1769, Mary, b. Aug. 31, 1745, d. Oct. 17, 1790, daughter of Deacon Peter and Abigail (Hawley) Lockwood of Norwalk; m. 2nd, Aug. 28, 1793, Eleanor Hickock of Southbury, d. May 5, 1825.

A full account of Nehemiah has already been given. For the records of his children (VI, 144-52), see pp. 301-06.

V, 92. DAVID DE FOREST, b. July 9, 1745; d. June 2, 1783.

m. Hannah Lum.

David settled in Derby. He was very active there during the Revolutionary War, serving on committees for the care of the families of soldiers during their absence, and on other committees "to invite and aid persons in making and forwarding" clothing for the soldiers themselves.

He was repeatedly a representative from Derby at the General Assembly.

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He died in 1783, aged thirty-eight, and his gravestone at "Up Town" tells of "Mr. David De Forest who as a son husband parent and member of society merited unreserved love and esteem." All of David's children eventually left Derby.

Children

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153 Richard, b. Jan. 7, 1768; d. July 10, 1776.
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154 DAVID LUM. Settled on Long Island.

155 ISAAC.

Removed to Hudson and died there, leaving two daughters.

156 SAMUEL HERVEY.

Moved to Dover Plains, N.Y.

157 JOSEPH.

m. Leah Marks. 4 children.

Moved to Washington, Dutchess Co., N.Y.

158 HEPHSA.

159 EUNICE.

160 Polly.

m. Samuel Stevens. 6 children.

Moved to Clinton, Dutchess Co., N.Y.

161 HANNAH.

m. John Belding. 4 sons.

Moved to Washington, Dutchess Co., N.Y.

THE CHILDREN OF NEHEMIAH DE FOREST OF NEW STRATFORD (V, 91)

FIRST WIFE, MARY LOCKWOOD

144 Abby, 1771-1857. 148 Philo, 1779-1826.*
145 William, 1773-. 149 De Lauzun, 1781-1
146 Lockwood, 1775-1848. 150 Betsey, 1785-1841. 149 DE LAUZUN, 1781-1815.

147 Polly, 1777-1810.

SECOND WIFE, ELEANOR HICKOCK

151 Charles 1st, 1794-d.y. 152 Charles 2nd, 1795-1865.

VI, 144. ABBY DE FOREST, b. March, 1771; d. 1857. m. 1797, Legrand Moss Lewis, "Esq.," b. 1769,

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d. April 29, 1808, son of Robert and Eunice (Wells) Lewis.

He was several times sent to the General Assembly as Representative from Huntington and it was said of him, "He stood very high in public esteem in church and town, and had he lived, would beyond doubt have held a prominent place in civil affairs."

Abby was left a childless widow after eleven years of happy married life. With her sister Polly she went to New Haven in 1809. In 1818, after the death of her brother De Lauzun and after her brother Lockwood had moved to New York, she returned to New Stratford. Later "Aunt Lewis" lived with her niece, Mrs. Skinner, in Fairfield until 1845, after which she made her home with her half-brother Charles and his wife in Bridgeport. She lived with them twelve years until the time of her death in 1857, when she was in her eighty-seventh year.

VI, 145. WILLIAM DE FOREST, b. June 13, 1773. m. 1st, Sarah ——; m. 2nd, Widow Lucretia Canfield.

Soon after his father's death in 1801 William went to Bridgeport to live. He kept a store in a building still standing on the corner of State and Main Streets. For this store he paid an annual rental of \$100.

When his half-brother, Charles, married his second wife, William greeted her thus: "Welcome, sister. A place for everything and everything in its place. Let this be your motto." The same sister-in-law told the writer that he "was very quaint and old-fashioned and yet quite full of humor."

T. T. Waterman, who gave an address in 1864 on

"Reminiscences of 100 Years in Monroe [New Stratford]," said of him: "Deacon William I remember as one of the prominent men in the church in Bridgeport of which my father was long pastor. He was a gentleman of fine appearance, genial manner, kind, shrewd, and sympathetic. His quick uttered words, expressive smile, and graceful gestures would interest children and men in advanced life. He lived to a good old age and died a few years since in the triumph of Christian faith." 1

Children

162 ISAAC.

m. Sarah Bartram. I son.

163 LOCKWOOD N.

164 WILLIAM.

m. Louisa A. Bassett.

165 MARCUS.

166 Mary Ann.

m. Mar. 6, 1834, George St. John of Norwalk. 3 sons, 2 daughters.

VI, 146. LOCKWOOD DE FOREST, b. March 5, 1775; d. Nov. 28, 1848.

m. July 14, 1793, Mehetabel Wheeler, b. Sept. 9, 1777, d. Jan. 23, 1864, daughter of Nathan and Charity (Beach) Wheeler.

A full account of Lockwood and Mehetabel has already been given. For the records of his children (VII, 167-80) see pp. 307-12.

VI, 147. POLLY DE FOREST (Mary, named for her mother, Mary Lockwood), b. April 27, 1777; d. Nov. 18, 1810, at New Haven.

m. Nov. 16, 1797, Samuel Moss Monson, b. 1774, d. March 11, 1803, son of Rev. Samuel and his wife Mary (Moss) Monson.

¹ Hurd, Duane H. History of Fairfield County.

The marriage was not a happy one. The young man had charge of his father's property and squandered it all. His mother was the daughter of Joseph Moss of New Stratford and had inherited the Moss homestead there. Because of the misdoings of their son, the Rev. Samuel and his wife were obliged in 1797 to sell their homestead to Nathan Wheeler.

Soon after her husband's death Polly Monson moved to New Haven, where her brothers, De Lauzun and Lockwood, were living, and there she died in 1810, aged thirty-four.

A son, W. Nelson Monson, was born Sept. 3, 1798. His uncle, Legrand M. Lewis, left money for the boy's education.

Children

181 W. NELSON, b. Sept. 3, 1798.

VI, 148. Philo de Forest, b. July 21, 1779; d. March 9, 1826.

m. Polly Ann ("Nancy") —, d. 1836.

When Nehemiah de Forest moved to Weston in 1798, he took his son Philo as a partner in "Centre Store" under the firm name of "Nehemiah Deforest & Son." In 1804, after Nehemiah's death, Philo and his stepmother, Eleanor, with the other heirs, sold the property. Thereafter Philo is spoken of as "of Southbury" until 1810, when he purchased a dwelling-house in Bridgeport from his brothers.

We know nothing further about him except that he died in Stratford in 1826, aged forty-six.

VI, 149. DE LAUZUN DE FOREST, b. June 30, 1781; d. Nov. 27, 1815.

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m. May 18, 1808, Lydia, daughter of Capt. William Brintnall of New Haven.

De Lauzun was named for the Duc de Lauzun, a French officer who served in the Revolutionary War and spent the night of De Lauzun's birth at his father's inn in New Stratford.

His share of his father's estate was one third less than the shares given to the other sons, the father assigning as his reason for this difference, "on account of the education I have given him."

After his father's death in 1801, he and his brother Philo for a short time owned a store in Bridgeport, but in 1803 De Lauzun was already living in New Haven. He was a very quiet, rather studious man and during the later years of his life kept a bookstore.

He died in New Haven in 1815, in his thirty-fifth year.

Children

182 ELIZABETH, d. 1874.
Unmarried.
183 WILLIAM B., b. 1811; d. 1887.
m. Mary Abernethy.
1 son, William, A., b. 1848; d. 1908.

VI, 150. BETSEY DE FOREST, b. Jan. 16, 1785; d. unmarried Oct. 29, 1841.

Betsey after her father's death moved with her stepmother to Bridgeport, but her sister Abby becoming a widow in 1808, Betsey joined her and they made their home in New Haven. It was presumably in 1818, when Abby returned to New Stratford, that Betsey went to New York to make her home with her brother Lockwood.

She died in his house, 22 St. Mark's Place, in 1841, aged fifty-six.

VI, 151. CHARLES DE FOREST 1st, b. Jan. 28, 1794; lived only three days.

VI, 152. CHARLES DE FOREST 2nd, b. Aug. 10, 1795; d. July 28, 1865.

m. 1st, Oct. 27, 1825, Mary Ann, daughter of Jesse Sterling; m. 2nd, Oct. 5, 1842, Maria Louisa Hopkins.1

Charles moved to Bridgeport with his mother Eleanor and lived with her until her death on May 5, 1825. In October of the same year he married. His "Aunt Lewis" (Abby de Forest) lived in his home for the last twelve years of her life.

Charles died in Bridgeport in 1865, aged sixty-nine.

Children, first marriage

- 184 ELIZABETH, b. Oct. 6, 1826.
- 185 Ann Maria, b. Aug. 11, 1828. 186 Charles Sterling, b. Oct. 25, 1830; d. Oct. 8, 1839.
- 187 SARAH STERLING, b. Oct. 30, 1834. 188 EDWARD FRANCIS, b. Feb. 25, 1836; d. Sept. 19, 1839.

Children, second marriage

- 189 CHARLES EDWARD, b. Aug. 4, 1843; d. Aug. 22, 1843. 190 ARTHUR HOPKINS, b. Mar. 27, 1857; d. Nov. 27, 1905.

¹ The second Mrs. de Forest after her husband's death married the Rev. Benjamin L. Swan.

THE CHILDREN OF LOCKWOOD DE FOREST (VI, 146) AND MEHETABEL WHEELER

167 WILLIAM WHEELER, 1794–1866. 168 MARY LOCKWOOD, 1797–1889. 169 SUSAN, 1799–1879. 170 ELIZA, 1801–1882. 171 JANE, 1804–1877. 172 GEORGE BEACH, 1806– 1865. 173 ANN MEHETABEL, 1809–1889.

174 SARAH, 1811-1881.
175 ALFRED HENRY, 1813-1816.
176 FREDERICK LOCKWOOD, 1st,
1816-1817.
177 LOUISA, 1818-1887.
178 HENRY GRANT, 1820-1889.
179 JAMES GOODRICH, 18221903.
180 FREDERICK LOCKWOOD, 2nd,
1825-1878.

VII, 167. WILLIAM WHEELER DE FOREST, b. Dec. 24, 1794; d. Jan. 19, 1866.

VII, 168. MARY LOCKWOOD DE FOREST, b. Feb. 17, 1797; d. 1889. m. Roger Sherman Skinner, Sept. 25, 1817.

191 John, b. Nov. 30, 1819. m. Catharine Perry. 236 Roger Sherman.
237 William Perry.
238 Frederick Downer.
239 Mary de Forest.
240 Leonard Wales.

192 Eliza de Forest, b. Aug. 27, 1823; d. Sept. 9, 1849.

241 Helen Eliza (Marsh).

95 William Wheeler, b. Jan. 15, 1830.

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196 Jane Wakeman, b. April 3,
   1832.
m. Rev. Timothy Dwight of 242 Helen Rood.
242 Winthrop Edwards.
     New Haven, 1866.
  VII, 169. Susan de Forest, b. June 3, 1799; d. May
       12, 1879.
       m. Daniel Lord, Jr., May 16, 1818.
197 Daniel de Forest, b. April 17,
                                           244 Daniel.
  1819; d. 1894.
m. 1st, Mary Howard Butler,
1844; m. 2nd, Elizabeth Riley.
                                           245 Franklin Butler.
198 John Crary, b. Mar. 7, 1821; { 246 Susan.
                                         247 Margaret Hawley.
248 John Crary, Jr.
  d. 1873.
m. Margaret Hawley, 1846.
                                           249 Sarah Lord.
250 Henry Lord.
251 Eliza Skinner.
199 Phoebe Lucretia, b. May 31,
  1823; d. 1895.
m. Henry Day, 1849.
                                           252 John Lord.
253 George de Forest Lord.
                                          254 Susan de Forest.
200 James Couper, 1st, b. June 22,
  1825; d. Sept. 3, 1825.
                                         255 Grace Davison.
256 James Brown.
257 Eliza Brown.
258 William Brown.
201 James Couper, 2nd, b. Mar.
  17, 1827; d. 1869.
m. Margaretta Hunter Brown,
202 Sarah, b. April 10, 1829.
m. Henry C. Howells, 1887.
203 Edward Crary, b. Sept. 27,
                                          259 Cornelia Livingston.
260 George de Forest, Jr.
  1831; d. 1892.
  m. Emily Livingston, 1864.
204 George de Forest, b. Nov. 21,
  1833; d. 1892.
m. Frances Theodora Shelton,
  1877.
   VII, 170. ELIZA DE FOREST, b. April 12, 1801; d. Jan.
      22, 1882.
      m. Samuel Downer, Dec. 22, 1823.
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261 Frederick William.
205 Frederick William, b. Jan. 1,
                                       262 Lisa de Forest.
  1825; d. 1904.
m. Sarah W. Downer, 1855.
                                       263 Sophia W.
                                      264 Louis de Forest.
                                       265 Charlotte F.
266 Eliza de Forest.
206 Samuel Robinson, b. Jan. 8,
  1827; d. 1891.
m. Charlotte F. Downer, 1845.
                                       267 Adeline.
268 William Forbes.
                                      269 Bertha A.
207 Eliza de Forest, b. Dec. 17,
  1829; d. Dec. 31, 1834..
208 Charles, b. Jan. 18, 1831; d.
  Nov. 1841.
   VII, 171. JANE DE FOREST, b. April 12, 1804; d. Oct.
      20, 1877.
     m. Burr Wakeman, Mar. 22, 1826.
209 Louise, b. Jan. 4, 1827; d. Mar. 7, 1863.
                                       270 Jane de Forest.
271 Louise Wakeman.
  m. James Hall Mason Knox,
  Sept. 17, 1846.
   VII, 172. GEORGE BEACH DE FOREST, b. Dec. 27,
      1806; d. Sept. 23, 1865.
      m. Margaret Eliza de Forest, April 6, 1836.
210 Margaret Eliza, b. Jan. 27,
  1837; d. 1882.
                                       272 Helen.
                                       273 Benjamin.
211 Benjamin Lockwood, b. Feb.
  23, 1840; d. Nov. 11, 1885.
                                       274 Shepherd Knapp.
  m. Kate Louise Knapp, 1864.
                                       275 Augusta Spring.
276 Edward Layton.
212 Josephine, b. Dec. 13, 1841;
d. May 14, 1842.
213 George Beach, b. 1848.
                                        277 Louis Stanislas Hargous.
  m. Anita Hargous, 1882.
214 Caroline, b. 1850.
215 Edward Wheeler, b. 1852; d.
  1854.
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VII, 173. Ann Mehetabel, b. Mar. 13, 1809; d. m. Simeon Baldwin, Jr., Oct. 27, 1830. 278 Francis Hoskins. 216 Henry, b. Feb. 1, 1832. 279 De Forest. 280 David Higginbotham. m. Cornelia Estelle Hoskins, 281 Simeon. 282 Anne Estelle. 283 Anne Marven. 284 Henry de Forest. 285 Charles Marven. 217 Simeon, b. May 13, 1836. 286 Maud Dominick. m. Mary S. Marven, 1860. 287 Lockwood de Forest. 288 Roger Sherman. VII, 174. SARAH DE FOREST, b. Mar. 27, 1811; d. Nov. 29, 1881. m. Walter Edwards, Sept. 28, 1830. 218 Edwin Wakeman, b. May 20, 1832; d. 1886. 289 Camilla. 219 Walter, b. Feb. 5, 1834; d. 290 Alice Minturn. 291 William Henry Leonard. m. Camilla Leonard, 1863. 292 Hetty de Forest. 220 Mary Porter, b. Nov. 29, 293 Susie Edwards. m. Thomas Sedgwick Van Volkenburgh, 1872. 221 Susan Lord, b. May 20, 1841; d. Dec. 31, 1849. 294 Abby Hiller. 295 Sarah de Forest. 296 Helen Aldis. 222 Charles Atwood, b. May 22, 1844. m. Sara Katharine Hiller, 1874. 297 Katharine Hiller. 223 Wheeler de Forest, b. Nov. 298 Katharine Livingstone. 9, 1851. 299 Helena Roosevelt. m. Emma Lefferts Knox, 1881.

VII, 175. ALFRED HENRY DE FOREST, b. Aug. 20, 1813; d. Dec. 31, 1816.

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VII, 176. Frederick Lockwood de Forest, 1st, b. Aug. 8, 1816; d. Sept. 8, 1817.
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VII, 177. LOUISA DE FOREST, b. Aug. 20, 1818; d. Jan. 21, 1887.

m. 1st Samuel M. Woodruff, Oct. 25, 1836 (Lost at sea in S.S. Arctic, 1854); m. 2nd Thomas Ferris Cock, M.D., Feb. 6, 1866.

224 Lockwood de Forest (Wood-ruff), b. Feb. 1, 1838; d. 1876.

VII, 178. HENRY G. DE FOREST, b. Aug. 3, 1820; d. Nov. 18, 1889.

m. Julia Mary Weeks, April 15, 1847.

225 Robert Weeks, b. April 25, 1848.
m. Emily Johnston, Nov. 12, 1872.

300 Johnston.
301 Henry Lockwood.
302 Ethel.
303 Frances Emily

226 Lockwood, b. June 23, 1850. m. Meta Kemble, Nov. 11, 1880. 304 Judith Brasher. 305 Alfred Victor. 306 Lockwood, Jr.

227 Julia Brasher, b. Oct. 12, 1853; d. June 6, 1910.

228 Henry Wheeler, b. Oct. 29,
 1855.
 m. Julia Gilman Noyes, Aug.
 22, 1898.

307 Julia Mary. 308 Henry Wheeler, Jr. 309 Charles Noyes. 310 Alice Delano.

VII, 179. James Goodrich de Forest, b. Oct. 3, 1822; d. 1903. m. Julia T. Hallett, Mar. 31, 1852.

229 Louise Woodruff, b. Feb. 2, 1853. m. Maynard Hollister, 1886. 230 Hettie Wheeler, b. May 18, 1854; d. 1855.

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231 Eliza Hallett, b. Mar. 28, 1856. m. Charles M. Russell, 1885. 232 William Wheeler, b. July 10, 1857; d. Feb. 16, 1905. m. Mabel Menzies, 1899. 233 James Goodrich, b. Dec. 16, 1858. 234 Frederick Lockwood, b. Oct. 12, 1860; d. March 14, 1905. m. Lydia Krug, 1902. 235 Stephen Hallett, b. Aug. 10, 1862. m. Leila B. Dean, 1891.

VII, 180. FREDERICK LOCKWOOD DE FOREST, b. Dec. 2, 1825; d. Jan. 15, 1878. m. Julia Desha, Nov. 7, 1866.

GENEALOGICAL CHART

THE MALE DESCENDANTS OF DAVID DE FOREST OF STRATFORD THROUGH THE THIRD GENERATION

This chart is based on the genealogical records in "The de Forests of Avesnes" and on a chart of the male descendants of David of Stratford, compiled about 1853, by Dr. John De Forest of Watertown, Conn. (1806–1885). These records have been corrected wherever possible by comparison with accurate family records. In this chart the plan is adopted of showing the six sons of David of Stratford in the order of their seniority, followed in each case by the second and third generations.

- I, I DAVID OF STRATFORD, bp. Sept. 7, 1669; d. April 20, 1721. m. 1696? Martha Blagge.

 - David of Wilton 1st, 1702-1748.
 Samuel of Moose Hill, 1704-1777.
 Isaac of Newtown and New Milford, 1706-.
 - 5. Edward of Stratford, 1708-after 1758.

 6. Henry of Moose Hill, 1710-about 1777.

 - 7. Benjamin of Ripton, 1716-1780.
- II, 2 DAVID OF WILTON 18T, b. 1702; d. 1748.

m. Abigail Clark, before 1726. (Rebecca — member of Wilton ch. 1747, probably 2nd wife.)

- 8 Hezekiah, (1)1, b. 1726. m. Rebecca Raymond, 1748.
- 34 Uriah (2), b. 1756. m. Phebe Dunning, 1780. 35 Hezekiah, b. 1770.
- 9 Lemuel, b. 1728. m. Phebe Keeler, 1751.

36 David of Wilton 3rd (2), b. 1755; d. 1788. m. Sabra Mead, 1776.

10 David of Wilton 2nd, b. 1733; d. 1790 ? m. Sarah Olmstead, 1754.

 37 Samuel, b. 1757.
 38 Isaac (2)², b. 1761.
 m. Deborah Ingersoll, 1784. 39 Eliud, b. 1769. m. Isabel Hayt, 1790? 40 Clark, b. 1772; bp. 1777.

¹(1) following a name stands for "served in the French and Indian War"; (2) stands for "served in the Revolutionary War"; (1, 2) stands for service in both wars.

³ The Isaac who performed military service in the Revolution was either this Isaac or Isaac, son of Benjamin of Ripton. See Appendix, p. 327.

41 David Lambert (2), b. 1762. m. — Barnum. 42 Joseph, b. 1764. 43 Benjamin, b. 1771. m. Mary Burloch. 11 Elihu, (1,2),1 b. 1739; d. 1827. m. Rachel Lambert, 1761. 44 Bills Clark, b. 1782. 45 Nathan, b. 1765. 46 Zalmon, b. 1770. 47 Henry, b. 1778. 48 Samuel, b. 1784. 12 Ephraim (1), b. 1740; d. 1827. m. Sarah Betts, 1764? 49 Ephraim B., b. 1787. 13 Samuel (2), bp. 1746; d. 1795. m. Eleanor Stirling, 1767. II, 3 SAMUEL OF MOOSE HILL, b. 1704; d. 1777. m. Abigail Peat, 1725. 50 Samuel (2), b. 1758; d. 1837. m. Mary Curtis, 1781. 51 Abel (2), b. 1761. m. Mary Hawley, 1787. 52 Mills (2), b. 1763. 53 Gideon (2), b. 1765; d. 1840. m. Hannah Birdseye, 1794? 54 Elihu, b. 1771, d.y. 14 Joseph of Moose Hill, b. 1731;
 d. 1777?
 m. Susannah Mills, 1757. 54 Elihu, b. 1771, d.y. 15 Samuel, b. 1739 55 William, b. 1773. m. 1st Sarah — Lucretia Canfield. ; 2nd, Widow Lucretia Canfield.

56 Lockwood, b. 1775; d. 1848.
m. Mehetabel Wheeler, 1793.

57 Philo, b. 1779; d. 1826.
m. Polly Ann ("Nancy") ——.

58 De Lauzun, b. 1781; d. 1815.
m. Lydia Brintnall, 1808.

59 Charles, b. 1794; d.y.

60 Charles, b. 1795; d. 1865.
m. 18t, Mary Ann Sterling, 1825;
m. 2nd, Maria Louisa Hopkins, 1842. 16 Nehemiah of New Stratford, b. 1743; d. 1801. m. Mary Lockwood, 1769; m. 2nd Eleanor Hickock, 1793. 61 Richard, b. 1768; d. 1776. 17 David of Derby, b. 1745; d. 62 David Lum. 63 Isaac (N?) 64 Samuel Hervey. 65 Joseph. 1783. m. Hannah Lum. 18 Josiah, b. 1748; d.y.

¹(I) following a name stands for "served in the French and Indian War"; (2) stands for "served in the Revolutionary War"; (1,2) stands for service in both wars.

Genealogical Chart

```
II, 4 ISAAC OF NEWTOWN AND NEW MILFORD, b. 1706.
      m. Elizabeth Noble, 1732.
   19 Isaac (1,2),1 b. 1734.
m. Rachel Bostwick, 1763.
                                              66 Benjamin, b. 1764.
m. Clarissa Canfield, 1788.
   II, 5 Edward of Stratford, b. 1708.
      m. Eunice Uffoot (Ufford), 1733.
                                              67 Benjamin.
   20 Isaac (1), b. 1736.
                                              68 Isaac, b. 1768.
   21 Elisha (1,2), b. 1738; d. 1804.
                                              69 Daniel, b. 1771.
m. Phœbe Offoot.
      m. Sarah Hubbell, 1767.
   22 Edward, b. 1743.
                                              70 James (2)3.
                                              71 Curtis.
                                              72 Philo.
  23 John, b. 1745.
m. Abigail Walker.
                                              73 John.
                                             m. Alma Colton.
74 Edward.
75 James.
   24 William (2) b. 1752.
                                              76 William, b. 1787.
                                              77 Joseph, b. 1790.
78 Mitchell Lamson, b. 1792.
   25 Joseph (2), b. 1758.
      m. Anne Lamson, 1779.
                                             79 Curtis, b. 1803.
   II, 6 HENRY OF MOOSE HILL, b. 1710; d. 1773-77.
      m. Martha ---, 1746.
   26 Henry (2), b. 1750.
27 Timothy (2), b. 1751.
28 Daniel, b. 1755.

<sup>→</sup> II, 7 Benjamin of Ripton, b. 1716; d. 1780.

      m. Esther Beardsley, 1744.
                                              80 Augustus, bp. 1777.
                                              81 Erastus, b. 1777.
   29 Hezekiah, b. 1745; d. 1808.
                                              82 Philo, b. 1783.
83 Samuel Adams, b. 1792.
      m. Mary Adams.
                                                m. Polly Beers.
   30 Nehemiah (2), b. 1748.
m. Rebecca Blakeman.
                                             84 Ebenezer, b. 1780.
```

^{1 (1)} following a name stands for "served in the French and Indian War"; (2) stands for "served in the Revolutionary War"; (1,2) stands for service in both wars.

² The James who performed military service in the Revolution was either this James or James, son of John and grandson of Edward of Stratford. See Appendix, p. 341.

31 Benjamin, b. 1749; d. 1784. m. Mehitable Curtis, 1773.

85 David Curtis, bp. 1774; d. 1825. m. Julia Wooster, 1811. 86 John Hancock, b. 1776; d. 1839. m. Dotha Woodward, 1811. 87 William, b. 1778; d. 1802. 88 Benjamin, b. 1780; d. 1848. m. Alma Southmayd, 1805. 89 Ezra, b. 1782; d. 1868. m. Laura Wooster, 1808.

32 Isaac, b. 1758; d. 1813. m. Mary Gregory.

90 Aaron. 91 Grandison. 92 Isaac. 92 Isaac. 93 Samuel or Lemuel. 94 Alonzo; d. 1845. m. 1st, Sarah Milliman, 1803; 2nd, Electa Hawks, 1821.

33 Othniel, b. 1761; d. 1811. m. Hannah Tomlinson, 1784.

95 Linson, b. 1787; d. 1822. m. Jane Hawley, 1807. 96 Sidney. 97 Charles, b. 1704. m. Catherine Burloch.

WAR RECORDS

Of the de Forests included in the following war records, six fighting in the French and Indian War and twenty-five in the Revolution, the connection of all but seven with the line of David of Stratford is reasonably clear. In each instance the father and grandfather of the soldier are mentioned, if they are known. These comprise all the Connecticut de Forests who became soldiers.

With reference to these records of war-time service, it is pleasant to note in passing that not one de Forest, so far as known, appears on the muster rolls or in any other record as a deserter. This might not be remarkable except for the vast numbers of desertions which were constantly embarrassing the Revolutionary commanders—especially Washington, who frequently laments the fact.

In the rosters of the War of the Revolution the name of de Forest appears only in those published by Connecticut, Massachusetts, and New York. In Massachusetts we find records of Henry, Jonathan, and Valentine de Forest or de Foret, all privates. For New York State the record is fuller. A large contingent of de Forests, de Forrests, and de Freests or de Fries appear on the records, among whom were three captains—Jacob, Isaac, and Philip; one ensign, David; and one lieutenant, Derick. Among the privates the following names are found: Jesse, Philip, William, Abraham, Henry, David P., John, Peter, James, Reuben, and Ebenezer.

FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR RECORDS OF DESCENDANTS OF DAVID DE FOREST OF STRATFORD

At least six Connecticut de Forests, descendants of David of Stratford, served in the French and Indian War — three of them in two separate campaigns.

Some of our information concerning these six men is derived from certain quaintly spelled old muster rolls which, buried in dust, were recently found in a garret. They are the only ones known to be preserved. From these records is quoted the phrase, "Each man rode a horse from Fairfield."

As many as eight different de Forests appear on the New York State records, but it is impossible to say what their connection may have been with the Connecticut branch of the family.

HEZEKIAH DE FOREST (son of David of Wilton 1st and grandson of David of Stratford).

Quartermaster in Captain Jonathan Camp's troop of horse, 9th Regiment, May 5, 1755.

MSS. Conn. State Library 308, b.

"This Assembly do establish and confirm Mr. Hezikiah De Forest to be Quarter-Master of the troop of horse in the 9th Regt. in this Colony, and order that he be commissioned accordingly, May, 1755."

Colonial Records of Conn., vol. x, p. 365.

Coronet [cornet — an officer whose rank nearly corresponded to that of second lieutenant] troop of horse in the 9th regiment, May 11, 1758.

Captain of same, May, 1760.
Colonial Records of Conn., vol. x1, pp. 131 and 374.

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Captain troop of horse, as below:—

"To the Honorable General Assembly at Harford pursuant to the within order I gave legal warning to the troop of Horse under my command to meat at Norwalk on Monday the 3rd Instant who accordingly met and made choice of Ezra Gregory Quartermaster by a considerable majority of said troops and hope to good satisfaction praying he may be commissioned accordingly.

Hezekiah Deforest"

May 3, 1769.

MSS. Conn. State Library, 563 b.

ELIHU DE FOREST¹ (son of David of Wilton 1st and grandson of David of Stratford).

Private in Captain Daniel Bradley's company of New Haven, Colonel Andrew Burr's regiment, Connecticut Militia, raised for service at the time of the alarm for the relief of Fort William Henry and parts adjacent. Other company officers were from Fairfield. Served sixteen days, from August 7–23, Campaign of 1757. According to the record, "Each [of the men named] rode a horse from Fairfield."

Collections Conn. Historical Society, vol. 1x, p. 201.

Private in 2nd Company, James Smedley, Lieutenant-Colonel and Captain, Colonel David Wooster's 4th Regiment, Connecticut Militia. Enlisted March 31, discharged Nov. 14, Campaign of 1758. "Each... rode a horse from Fairfield." The General Assembly in March, 1758, resolved to raise for the coming campaign 5,000 men, including officers, the force to be divided into four regiments of twelve companies each.

¹ See also Revolutionary Record, Appendix, p. 322.

These troops were to act in conjunction with those of the other New England colonies under Major-General Abercromby, commander-in-chief of the King's forces in North America.

Coll. Conn. Hist. Soc., vol. x, p. 77.

EPHRAIM DE FOREST 1 (son of David of Wilton 1st and grandson of David of Stratford).

Private in 9th Company, Captain Thaddeus Mead of Norwalk, General David Wooster, Colonel of 3rd Regiment, Connecticut Troops. Enlisted April 6, discharged December 3, Campaign of 1759. The General Assembly in March, 1759, resolved to raise 3,600 men, officers included, for the coming campaign and gave "further encouragement" for 400 men to enlist, the force to be divided into four regiments of ten companies each. Many Connecticut men had enlisted into his Majesty's regular troops during the last winter and into the pay of the neighboring governments for this campaign.

Coll. Conn. Hist. Soc., vol. x, p. 159.

Private in 1st Company, David Wooster Captain and Colonel of 3rd Regiment, Connecticut Troops. Enlisted April 2, discharged November 23, Campaign of 1760. The General Assembly resolved in March, 1760, to raise 5,000 men, officers included, the force to be divided into four regiments of twelve companies each.

Coll. Conn. Hist. Soc., vol. x, p. 210.

Isaac de Forest of New Milford²⁸ (son of Isaac of Newtown and New Milford, and grandson of David of Stratford).

Ephraim was a Tory at the time of the Revolutionary War.
 See also Revolutionary Record, Appendix, p. 338.
 For statement of the reasons for connecting Isaac of New Milford with the line of David de Forest, see Appendix, p. 293.

War Records

Private in Captain John Hitchcock's Company (Hitchcock was of New Milford), Colonel Ebenezer Marsh's Regiment, Connecticut Militia. One of the eighteen who "rode horses from New Fairfield."

"Dr. Colony of Conn. to Capt. John Hitchcock and company under his command in Col. Ebenezer Marsh's regiment for their service at ye time of alarm for relief of Fort William Henry and places adjacent, Aug., 1757. Isaac De Forest. 17 days in service. 6-22."

Coll. Conn. Hist. Soc., vol. 1x, p. 225.

Private in 2nd company, Benjamin Hinman of Woodbury, Captain and Lieutenant-Colonel, Colonel Eleazer Fitch's 3rd Regiment Connecticut Troops. Enlisted April 5, discharged November 17, Campaign of 1758.

Coll. Conn. Hist. Soc., vol. x, p. 55.

ISAAC DE FOREST (son of Edward of Stratford and grandson of David of Stratford).

Private in Captain Isaiah Brain's Company, Colonel Andrew Burr's Regiment, Connecticut Militia, called into service for relief of Fort William Henry. Served sixteen days, August 7–23, Campaign of 1757. "Each... rode a horse from Stratford."

The General Assembly in February, 1757, resolved to raise 1,400 men to be formed into one regiment of fourteen companies to act in conjunction with the regular troops under command of the Earl of Loudon. In October the General Assembly ordered the enlisting of three companies of ninety-four men each, officers included, out of the troops already in service to remain in service during the winter. . . . The alarm in August . . . called out many of the militia.

Coll. Conn. Hist. Soc., vol. 1x, p. 200.

ELISHA DE FOREST 1 (son of Edward of Stratford and grandson of David of Stratford).

Private in Captain Samuel Whiting's 4th Company, and Regiment Connecticut Troops, Colonel Nathan Whiting of New Haven. Enlisted March 29, discharged Dec. 5, Campaign of 1762. The General Assembly in March, 1762, resolved to raise 2,300 men, officers included, "to march to such place or places in North America as his Majesty's said Commander in Chief shall appoint." This force was to be divided into two regiments of twelve companies each.

Coll. Conn. Hist. Soc., vol. x, p. 328.

REVOLUTIONARY WAR RECORDS

ELIHU DE FOREST² (son of David of Wilton 1st and grandson of David of Stratford).

Lieutenant 8th Company, Alarm List in 16th Connecticut Regiment, Colonel Nehemiah Beardsley commanding. Commissioned October, 1779.

MSS. Conn. State Library, 2581 b.

Elected Captain of the Company as above. Commissioned May, 1780.

MSS. Conn. State Library, 2636 a.

SAMUEL DE FOREST of Wilton (son of David of Wilton 1st and grandson of David of Stratford).

Private in Captain Matthew Mead's Company, 5th Connecticut Continental Regiment,² Colonel David

See also Revolutionary Record, Appendix, p. 340.
See also French and Indian War Record, Appendix, p. 319. * See also French and Indian war Record, Appendix, p. 319.

* REGIMENTAL RECORD: 5th Connecticut, raised on Legislature's first call for troops April-May, 1775. Recruited mainly in Fairfield County. Marched to New York late in June, encamped at Harlem with Major-General Wooster's command. About September 28th, ordered by Congress to the Northern Department, taking part in operations along Lakes George and Champlain. Term of service expired December, 1775.

Paccal of Comp. Mag. in the Percepture 256.64.

Waterbury commanding. Enlisted May 8, 1775; discharged September 17, 1775.

Record of Service of Connecticut Men in the War of the Revolution, p. 67.

"Sam'll Deforest, rank not stated, served in the 5th Regiment of Connecticut Troops. His name appears on an account, dated at Hartford, Conn., April 12, 1776, of the names of the men that returned their arms at Ticonderoga, by order of the general, belonging to Captain Matthew Mead's Company, Colonel David Waterbury's Regiment, 1775, which account shows that he was credited with £2. 8s."

United States War Office Records.

Samuel evidently re-enlisted after his discharge on September 17th, in time for service in the Northern Department in the fall of 1775.

On January 1, 1777, Samuel was appointed for three years sergeant in Captain Ezekiel Sanford's Company, 5th Connecticut Regiment, Colonel Philip Burr Bradley commanding. Promoted to sergeant major, January 1, 1778. His name is borne from July to November, 1778, on the rolls of Captain Abner Prior's Company, same regiment. On the muster roll for

¹ Regmental Record: of 5th Connecticut Regiment from 1777 to 1781. Raised for the Continental Line in 1777, to continue through the war. Recruited largely in Fairfield and Litchfield Counties; rendezvous, Danbury. Went into camp at Peekskill, New York, spring of 1777, and in September was ordered to Pennsylvania with McDougall's Brigade. Engaged at battle of Germantown October 4, 1777; wintered at Valley Forge, 1777-78. June 28, 1778, present at battle of Monmouth; went into camp with main army at White Plains, and wintered at Redding, Connecticut, 1778-79. In operations of 1779 served in Heath's wing, east side of Hudson; its Light Company under Captain St. John was detached to Meigs's Light Regiment and engaged in storming Stony Point, July 15, 1779. Wintered at Morristown, 1779-80, and in the following summer served in Connecticut Division with the main army on both sides of the Hudson. Wintered 1780-81 at Camp "Connecticut Village" near the Robinson House, opposite West Point, and there consolidated for formation of 1781-83. Record of Conn. Men in the Revolution, p. 193.

November, 1778, of Captain John St. John's Company, same regiment, he is shown to have been commissioned ensign, December 15, 1777.

On July 16, 1779, Ensign Samuel de Forest of Wilton was detached from the 5th Regiment with a Light Company of "47 Rank & File" to serve with Meigs's Light Regiment for the assault on Stony Point. Transferred in July, 1780, to Colonel Bradley's Company, same regiment; was commissioned August 27, 1780, as first lieutenant in Lieutenant-Colonel Jonathan Johnson's Company, same regiment.

United States War Office Records. Heitman's Historical Register of Officers of the Continental Army, Record of Conn. Men in the Revolution, pp. 194, 242, 360.

Samuel was transferred about January, 1781, to Captain Wright's Company (also designated Captain Robertson's Company), 2nd Connecticut Regiment,1 commanded by Colonel Heman Swift. For his gallant service, mentioned in General Heath's Orders for November 18, 1781, see chapter, "The de Forests in War Time," vol. 1, p. 235.

His name is last borne, without remark, on the muster roll of Captain Wright's Company for April, 1783. He was retired with the rest of the army, June, 1783. Samuel was one of the original members of the Society of the Cincinnati.

Record of Conn. Men in the Revolution, pp. 306, 322, 373.

¹ REGIMENTAL RECORD: 2nd Regiment, Connecticut Line 1781-83. In this formation the 2nd Regiment was composed of the consolidated 5th and 7th Regiments of the previous formation.

Marched from Camp Connecticut Village, to Peekskill in June, 1781. From there the troops of the Connecticut Line marched with the army to Phillipsburg. The regiment remained in camp at West Point and vicinity from January, 1783, until early in June, when by Washington's orders this regiment, with the greater portion of the army, was disbanded.

Record of Conn. Men in the Revolution, pp. 304, 360.

War Records

The records of the Connecticut Historical Society (volumes VIII and XII) further substantiate the details of Samuel's service and give various additional items: "Supplies, 1777-79. An alphabetical account of the names of those who have received supplies from towns, their value at the stated price of 1776 [fixed by the Assembly] and the value of the money lodged by the soldiers together with the name of ye town to which they belong... 5 Samuel Deforest, Ensign, Norwalk." (Volume XII, p. 28.) There are several such accounts.

Upon deposit by the soldier of a proportion of his wages, the selectmen of the town to which he belonged were authorized to expend said amount for the support of the soldier's family.

The manuscripts of the Connecticut State Library give similar items in fuller detail.

In further illustration of the scale of expenditure of the Revolutionary soldier the following list is of interest:—

```
Lieut. Samuel De Forest, Dr.
July 20, 1780 -
       To I uneform coat
                                            Lo-00-0
        " I woolin vest
" 2 Linnin "
                                             3-06-0
                                              2-08-0
       " I Pair Woolin Breeches
" I " Linnin "
                                             3-03-0
        " 2 shirts
                                             3-12-0
        " 2 stocks
                                             0-14-0
        " 2 Pair Worsted Hoes
                                             1-11-0
          2 " Linnin
2 " shoes
        "
                                             1-04-0
        " I Beavour Hatt
                                             2-00-0
```

For which I paid twenty-nine Pounds one shilling.
Miscellaneous Rolls and Accounts, vol. xL1, p. 10.

URIAH DE FOREST (son of Hezekiah and grandson of David of Wilton 1st).

Private in Captain Samuel Comstock's Company, 9th Regiment Connecticut Militia, Lieutenant-Colonel John Mead commanding. Company pay roll, dated Fairfield, May 15, 1777, shows that Uriah marched August 12, 1776, discharged September 28, 1776. At New York, 1776.

Record of Conn. Men in the Revolution, pp. 454, 458. United States War Office Records.

DAVID DE FOREST of Wilton 3rd (son of David of Wilton 2nd, grandson of David of Wilton 1st).

Private in Captain Matthew Mead's Company, 5th Connecticut Continental Regiment, Colonel David Waterbury commanding. Term of service: May, 1775, to December, 1775. Served in the Northern Department and engaged in the siege of St. John's, Canada, October, 1775.

Heitman's Historical Register of Continental Officers.

Continental Regiments, 1775: Returns of men in service. "Each of these returns sent in to the state authorities from the different towns and is signed by the selectmen of the town from which it is sent and gives the names of persons resident in that town who had been employed in the continental service in 1775 and who under a law passed in December of that year were exempted from the payment of certain taxes to the state. . . . Norwalk, David de Forest."

Coll. Conn. Hist. Soc., vol. XII, pp. 8, 9.

The following items are also of record. It is to be questioned whether they refer, under a mistake in the dates, to the service of 1775 previously stated, or to a brief term of service in one of the two regiments raised

¹ For Regimental record see Appendix, pp. 322, 323, footnotes.

by Colonels Waterbury and Ward which served early in 1776 at New York and Brooklyn. The rolls are incomplete.

"One David Deforest, rank not stated, served in Captain Matthew Mead's Company, Colonel David Waterbury's Regiment of Connecticut troops. A company pay roll dated at Stamford, Fairfield County, May 21, 1777, shows that he enlisted January 12, 1776, and was discharged January 15, 1776.

United States War Office Records. Record of Conn. Men in the Revolution, p. 387.

"One David Deforest, rank not stated, served in the 7th Company [Captain Samuel Comstock's], 9th Connecticut Militia, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel John Mead. The company pay roll, dated at Fairfield, May 15, 1777, shows that he marched August 12, 1776, and was discharged September 11, 1776."

United States War Office Records. Record of Conn. Men in the Revolution, p. 458.

Isaac DE FOREST.¹ (He may have been the Isaac, b. 1761, who was a son of David of Wilton 2nd and whose brother David, six years his senior, had responded to the first call for troops in Connecticut in 1775. On the other hand, it may have been Isaac, b. 1758, son of Benjamin of Ripton. It is impossible to verify the identity of this soldier, but it seems probable that he belonged to the soldier family of David of Wilton 1st.)

Isaac enlisted as a private in October, 1777, in the 9th Regiment, Connecticut Militia. An Isaac, probably the same one, in May, 1778, enlisted as a private in Colonel Roger Enos's Regiment, Connecticut Militia.

¹ Parentage in doubt.

years old in July, 1776.] No further record of him has been found."

United States War Office Records.

Samuel de Forest of Ballston, New York, pension certificate No. 1,102 issued October 26, 1832.

Pension Office Records.

ABEL DE FOREST (son of Joseph of Moose Hill and grandson of Samuel of Moose Hill).

Private in Lieutenant Curtis's 'Company Connecticut Militia; was on guard at Stratford; year not known.
[1777?]

Declaration of Abel de Forest.

Private in Captain [Joseph] Bennett's Company, [Lieutenant] Colonel [Samuel] Canfield's Regiment, Connecticut Militia, January 1, 1778. Served three months; discharged at Byram's Bridge, near Horseneck, Connecticut.

Private in Major Eli Leavenworth's Company, 6th Regiment Connecticut Line, Colonel Return Jonathan Meigs commanding. Enlisted May 1, 1778 [presumably 1779] for eight months, mustered in June, and joined the army at Quaker Hill, Dutchess County, New York, and went from there to Nelson's Point, opposite West Point. After a few days was detached to join Meigs's Light Infantry Regiment at Bedford, Westchester County, New York. Joined Colonel Butler's Regiment [2nd Regiment, Connecticut Line — Colonel Zebulon Butler], discharged at Redding, Connecticut, on or about January 1, 1779 [probably

¹ Ephraim Curtis was Lieutenant of the 4th Regiment of Guards, Connecticut Militia, Colonel Samuel Whiting, raised for the defense of Connecticut in March, 1777, stationed at Fairfield and Stratford.

Coll. Conn. Hist. Soc., vol. viii, p. 180.

War Records

Morristown Huts, 1780], after having rejoined Colonel Meigs's Regiment, which had gone into winter quarters at that place.

Declaration of Abel de Forest.

Abel has probably confused the records of two years. Meigs's Light Regiment was not organized until July, 1779, and so Abel's service with it could not have been in 1778. He probably joined in the attack upon Stony Point unless an illness to which he refers prevented.

Abel de Forest's name does not appear in the printed rosters of the regiments mentioned in that part of his "Declaration" quoted above, but it is stated on the authority of Gideon Welles (Comptroller, Connecticut, 1844), in a letter attached to the "Declaration," that there is "no roll of Short Levies in Col. Meigs's Regt. (6th) 1779 (if returns were made they are lost)." Abel refers, however, to Orderly Sergeant Worcester, undoubtedly Walter Wooster, Sergeant of Major Eli Leavenworth's Company, 6th Regiment, 1777–1780, and to Adjutant Aaron Benjamin of Stratford, who was Adjutant of Meigs's Light Infantry Regiment, July, 1779, as men with whom he remembers serving.

For Wooster and Benjamin, see Record of Conn. Men in the Revolution, pp. 207, 230, 241.

The following record for the summer of 1780 is referred to in Abel's Declaration as being of the year 1779. This is manifestly impossible if we accept his statement that he was with Meigs's Light Regiment.

Private in Captain [James] Burton's Company, Colonel [John] Mead's Regiment of drafted militia; spring of 1779 [1780], served two months and was discharged at Horseneck.

Declaration of Abel de Forest.

This Company served at Horseneck [North Greenwich, Connecticut] April 1 to November 1, 1779.
Coll. Conn. Hist. Soc., vol. vIII, p. 207.

Private in Captain Thomas Hunt's Company, Lieutenant-Colonel Frederick Weisenfel's Regiment of New York Levies. Enlisted for five months. Lay at North Castle, New York, then went to Saratoga. General Schuyler in command. At Saratoga heard of Cornwallis' surrender; recalls sending up of sky-rockets and rejoicing among the troops when news came.

New York Levies were raised for the further defense of the State, November 2, 1781. Reuben's name spelled "Deforege, Reuben."

Declaration of Reuben de Forest. New York State Archives, vol. 1, p. 356.

De Forest, Reuben, resident of Fairfield County, Connecticut, among list of pensioners, Act of 1832. Record of Conn. Men in the Revolution, p. 650.

Reuben de Forest of Stamford, Connecticut, pension certificate No. 17,906 issued October 10, 1833.

Pension Office Records.

EBENEZER DE FOREST¹ of Stamford, Connecticut, b. 1749. Undoubtedly a brother of Reuben and the son of Anthony and Martha of Stamford. After the war resided at Pound Ridge, Westchester County, New York. Applied for pension October, 1832, saying that he was then eighty-two years of age, "poor, blind and infirm." Pension paid for only two years, probably owing to his death. Connection with David of Stratford not known.

Corporal in Captain Jonathan Platt's Company [4th New York Continental Regiment], Colonel James

¹ Not shown on chart.

Holmes commanding. Enlisted at Fairfield, April, 1775, for nine months; marched to Albany. Proceeded under General Schuyler to Canada via Lake George. Served on frontier until near expiration of term. Marched to Albany and discharged January, 1776. Recalls names of Captain Daniel Mills and Lieutenant David Dan [officers in 4th New York Continental Regiment].

Declaration of Ebenezer de Forest.
For names of officers: Heitman's Historical Register of Officers of the Continental Army, pp. 226, 330.

Corporal in Captain Silvanus Brown's Company, 1st Battalion Wadsworth's Brigade, Connecticut State Troops, Colonel Gold S. Silliman commanding. Enlisted as a volunteer for nine months. Term of service, April, 1776, to January, 1777. Discharged at Westchester, New York.

Declaration of Ebenezer de Forest.

This regiment was engaged in battle of Long Island, August 27, 1776; in retreat to New York, August 29–30, 1776, and in battle of White Plains October 28, 1776. Rolls incomplete.

Record of Conn. Men in the Revolution, p. 393.

Private in Captain Ebenezer Ferris's Company, Connecticut Militia. Drafted May, 1777; served two months as guard at Stamford.

Private in Captain Jonathan Waring's Company, Connecticut Militia. Drafted July, 1778; served three months as guard at Horseneck, Connecticut.

Private in same company; drafted in the spring of 1779 to protect Fairfield, Connecticut, against depredations of British and Refugees. Served three months.

In service at various times from 1779 to close of the war, in Captain Waring's Company, Colonel John

Mead commanding. Services during this period covered about three months.

Declaration of Ebenezer de Forest.

Ebenezer de Forest of Pound Ridge, New York, pension certificate No. 6,190 issued February 25, 1833.

Pension Office Records.

Anthony DE Forest, undoubtedly a brother of Reuben and Ebenezer and the son of Anthony and Martha of Stamford. Connection with David of Stratford not known.

¹ Not shown on chart.

DEEDS AND OTHER PAPERS

- 1636. KILIAEN VAN RENSSELAER AND GERARD DE FOREST. Contract concerning the Rensselaerswyck.
- 1636. HENDRICK DE FOREST. Declaration concerning his treatment by the patroons of New Netherland.
- 1639. JEAN DE FOREST. Petition relating to the estate of Hendrick de Forest.
- 1639. Andries Hudde and Gertrude Bornstra. Marriage banns.
- 1645. ISAACK DE FOREST. Grant of land on the Marchtveldt and land for his garden.
- 1652. Jan Verbrugge from Jan Labatie. Deed for land on Brouwer Straet.
- 1653. ISAACK DE FOREST FROM JAN VERBRUGGE. Deed for land on Brouwer Straet.
- 1699. David de Forest. Deed for his house and house lot in Stratford.
- 1721-25. DAVID DE FOREST. Papers relating to the distribution of his estate.
- 1725/6. SAMUEL DE FOREST. Deed from Samuel Peat for land in Stratford.
- 1732. SAMUEL DE FOREST. Deed for property on Moose Hill.
- 1733/4. SAMUEL DE FOREST AND SAMUEL PEAT. Sale of their house and lot in Stratford.
- 1737. DAVID DE FOREST Of Wilton sells his father's Stratford homestead to Ephraim Clark of Stratford.
- 1767. Nehemiah de Forest. Deed from his father, Samuel, for 15 acres of land at Moose Hill.
- 1769. NEHEMIAH DE FOREST. Deed from his father, Samuel, for 15 additional acres of land and half of his barn at Moose Hill.
- 1797. NEHEMIAH DE FOREST sells to Nathan Wheeler and others the inn and the surrounding land at New Stratford.
- 1804. Lockwood de Forest and others buy a house and land in New Haven from James Bonticou.
- 1804. LOCKWOOD DE FOREST and others buy 2 stores on the Union Wharf at New Haven from Andrew Hull, Jr.

Contract between Kiliaen van Rensselaer and Gerard de Forest made before Notary van de Ven August 8, 1636.¹

In the manner and upon the conditions hereinafter written, Mr Kiliaen van Rensselaer with his associates of the first part and Mr Gerrit de forest of Leyden with his associates of the second part have agreed with one another concerning the act of buying, arming, and equipping for joint account the vessel, now called "Rensselaerswyck" and also concerning the cargo, profits, and returns of the same, namely.

First: The Purchase and Expenses of the abovementioned vessel with its equipment and armament shall be precisely computed and charged and the net amount thereof shall be paid by both parties, one half each.

Second: The Cargo of an estimated value of about from six to seven thousand guilders shall also be bought and paid for, one half each.

Third: The cost of Victuals for 10 or 12 persons for a year with two months' wages in hand shall likewise be defrayed equally by both parties.

The goods destined for the Colony and the people that have been engaged to sail for the Colony shall be paid by M^r Rensselaer alone and shall not be charged to this account.

The above-mentioned vessel shall with God's help sail at the first opportunity for New Netherland and shall convey the people if it does not freeze as soon as possible to the Colony of Rensselaerswyck, unless a means should be found at the Manhattans to convey the people thence up the river into the Colony.

Deeds and Other Papers

For conveying the settlers and the merchandise for the Colony the above-mentioned Rensselaer shall allow Gerrit de forest and his associates to share the right which as Patroon of New Netherland he has by virtue art. 13 of the granted Freedoms 1 to sail and traffic along the entire coast from Florida to Terra-Neuf and also the privilege to sail to the West Indies for timber, salt, and other merchandise in accordance with the Rules and Regulations, and the Command of the Prince of Orange.

And whichever of both parties desires to insure anything of the ship or the goods either on the outward voyage or the home voyage shall have to do so for his own account and not for joint account.

The partnership and joint enterprise aforesaid to last a year, provisionally, unless the goods should be sold earlier, or Mr Rensselaer and Gerrit de forest or their agent whom they have in that country or may still appoint should deem it advisable to send the goods sooner to the fatherland; who also shall have the right to regulate the traffic of the vessels within the limits mentioned.

And arriving at the Manhattans they shall endeavor to obtain a suitable warehouse in order to store therein the goods landed and the return cargo shall be stored therein, provided the Director be paid the duties on the goods sold, being a duty of 5 p Ct. for the W. I. Company, according to the aforesaid Freedoms.

Both parties to pay one half each of this also.

If the crew of the vessel shall discover any minerals, pearls, fisheries, saltpans, or anything else, a liberal reward shall be given to the first finder and the find

¹ Freedoms and Exemptions, granted June 7, 1629.

shall belong to the joint owners of the vessel and the goods.

In the manner hereinbefore written the parties have agreed and they mutually promise to keep and execute this agreement and everything that appertains to it, binding therefor their persons and properties, movable and immovable, present and future, submitting the whole and any part thereof to the jurisdiction of all courts and judges.

Expressly and deliberately waiving all privileges, exceptions, subterfuges, means, expedients, and immunities which either party might benefit by or take advantage of in violation of these presents; in particular, accepting the judicial rule that a general waiver is of no value, unless a special waiver precedes; all in good faith and without fraud.

This contract both parties have signed with their own hands in the presence of me, the undersigned notary public, at Amsterdam the 8th day of August, A.D. 1636.

(Signed) KILIAEN VAN RENSSELAER
GER'D DES FOREST
J. V[AN] D[E] VEN
Notary Public.

Declaration of Hendrick de Forest made before Notary Coren at Amsterdam, September 10, 1636.¹

Appeared &c.

Hendrick de Forest, residing within this city, about to sail on the ship *Renselaerswyck* as merchant and mate, from this city to New Netherland.

¹ Notarial Records, Amsterdam. [Translation.]

Deeds and Other Papers

And declared that he, the deponent, on the 19th of December 1631 was engaged by the Patroons of New Netherland for thirty guilders a month to fill the place of Jelis Hoeset at Swanendael in New Netherland; that owing to the sad tidings coming from New Netherland the above-mentioned gentlemen changed their minds and did not think it advisable to settle any people at Swanendael for the time being, in consequence of which he, the deponent, after having waited in this country for orders from the aforesaid gentlemen for five months after he had been engaged, was at last sent out by the aforesaid gentlemen on one of their ships, with orders to allow himself to be employed in whatever he should be found to be capable of doing, without any other arrangement concerning wages being made with him, the deponent.

That the deponent having thereupon gone on board ship was appointed and employed first as lay-reader or person to offer up prayers, and shortly after, the steward being a drunkard, as steward or clerk of the victuals. That the deponent has faithfully and diligently performed the duties of said offices, gone on expeditions and mounted guard, taken his turn at the wheel, worked in the saltpans in his turn and carted salt and faithfully observed his duty in everything with which he was charged for the space of five months and eight days, until, with the captain's consent, on the island of St. Martin, he entered the service of the General Chartered West India Company, so that he, the deponent, has been in the employ of the aforesaid Patroons and at their disposal for more than 10 months, without thus far having been satisfied therefor.

And whereas, owing to his aforesaid intended

voyage, it is not convenient for him, the deponent, to demand his due from the aforesaid Patroons and to sue them for it, he, the deponent, hereby appoints and empowers in the best form [possible to him] his uncle Gerrit de Forest, residing at Leyden, to demand and to receive from the above-mentioned Patroons, in the name of him, the principal, all moneys to which the principal is justly entitled by reason of the said services; to execute a quittance for whatever he, the attorney, receives, and to guarantee against further claims. Also, if necessary, to institute legal proceedings, to act either as plaintiff or defendant, to observe all terms of court, to take the oath of good faith and all other oaths which the law allows him to take in the name of the principal, to conclude the pleadings, to demand judgment, to hear the same pronounced and to have it executed, or, if he feels aggrieved, to appeal therefrom and to apply for review on account of all other grievances and exceptions, to prosecute the said appeal or review, or to withdraw same, as in his judgment seems best. Also, if the attorney sees fit, to compromise, adjust, and settle [the differences] and further in general to do all that he, the principal, being [present] might do or ought to do according to the custom. usage, and practice of the court here or in other places for the conscientious recovery of that to which he is duly entitled as aforesaid.

All with power of substitution and promise to hold and cause to be held as valid whatever shall be done and performed in the premises by the said attorney or his substitute, and to indemnify them for and protect them against any loss or damage that may result therefrom, under binding obligation according to law, with-

Deeds and Other Papers

out fraud, an authentic instrument hereof being requested.

Done, etc. in presence of Warnaer Warnaerts and Adriaen Jacobse, residents etc., the 10th of September 1636.

(Signed) HENDRICK DE FOREST

W. WARNAERS

1636

Adryaen Jacobse

1636

Quod attestor rogati[on]e Coren

Not Publ.

PETITION OF JEAN DE FOREST Relative to the ESTATE of HENDRICK DE FOREST, January 4, 1639.1

This day the fourth of January XVI C nine and thirty appeared before me, Notary public, and before the witness named below Jean de foreest, dyer, residing within this city, on his own behalf and also as guardian of Isaac de foreest, his minor brother, co-heirs of Henrick du foreest, the appearer's brother, deceased within Virginia, having in the best form and in the best possible manner within his power appointed and authorized Jacob Bonasse, city packer-within Amsterdam, in particular with Geertruyt van Bornstra, widow of the aforesaid Henrick forcest to settle, divide, and distribute the property and estate of the said Henrick forcest; to sell and to convert into money the property, whether movable or immovable, in Amsterdam, in Virginia or elsewhere, or to have it sold by another competent person, chosen by him, the attorney, for this

¹ Notarial Records, Leyden. [Translation.]

purpose; and to collect, recover, levy, and receive the moneys proceeding therefrom so far as he, the principal, is concerned; to acknowledge, sign, and give receipt; and also to invest the share that shall be allotted to Isaac de forest, his minor brother, at the Orphan Chamber of Amsterdam on behalf of the aforesaid Isaac; and further in general to do, observe, and perform in the premises all that he, the principal, if he were present in each case, could do therein, even if for the purposes aforesaid an ampler and more specific power of attorney than this should be required; also with authority to substitute one or more persons with the like or more limited power and to revoke such power of attorney if he sees fit to do so.

The principal promises to hold as good, firm, binding, and valid and to cause to be so held by everybody all that shall be done and performed in the premises by the aforesaid attorney or his substitutes under submission [of his person and property] as by law provided, with this reservation, that at the request of the principal the attorney remains bound to render due account of his acts and to submit sufficient proof and vouchers.

Thus done within Leyden, the day and year aforesaid, at my notarial office, in the presence of Claes van Sonnevelt and Dirck Moy as witnesses hereto invited. Which I certify. (Signed) JAN DES FOREST (Signed) M. VAN SONNEVELT C V SONNEVELT Notary Public 1639

1639

D. Moy

Deeds and Other Papers

Marriage Banns of Andries Hudde and Gertrude Bornstra January 6, 1639.1

Appeared as above, Andries Huddens, from Campen, aged 30 years, assisted by Domine Otthe Badius, living on Prince street, and Geertruyt Borrenstra, of Amsterdam, aged 24 years, widow of Heyndrick de Foreest, assisted by Wybrant Andresz, her father, living on Sand street.

Requesting proclamation of the banns on three Sundays, in order that thereafter their intended marriage may be solemnized and completed if no legal impediment occur. And whereas they declared it to be the truth that they were unmarried persons and were not related to each other by blood in a way which would prevent a Christian marriage, permission to have the banns proclaimed has been granted them.

(Signed) A. Hudde Geertruyt Bornstra

In the margin is written, referring to Hudde:—

Mother still living, but sick; according to Domine Badius she gives her consent.

Grant to Isaack DE Forest. For a lot on the Marchtveldt Steeg and for his garden, September 5, 1645.2

We, Willem Kieft, Director General, and Council in behalf of the High and Mighty Lords the States General of the United Netherlands... have given and granted unto Isaack d' Foreest a certain lot of land for a house and garden lying on the west side of the lot of Philip Gerardy; its breadth on the south side is two rods, five feet; on the west side four rods, one foot;

¹ City Archives at Amsterdam. [Translation.]
² Original in New York State Library, Albany, Book GG, p. 119. Abstract. [Translation.]

and on the east side five rods, nine feet; at the north end of this lot there is an alley or passageway in length three rods, nine feet, four inches; in breadth four feet; it lies between the lots of the aforesaid Geraert and Teunis d' Metselaer and extends to the entrance or passageway of the garden of this lot, and [the garden] extends from said passageway south one rod, seven feet and eight inches; its length on the south side is ten rods, eight feet to the lot of Jan Cornelissen; next the lot of said Cornelissen or on the east side, the breadth is five rods, three feet, three inches; on the north side its length is ten rods, four feet; its breadth on the west side towards the south is two rods, three feet, four inches; towards the east one rod, four feet, two inches; towards the south one rod, three feet, eight inches; westerly one rod, four feet, eight inches; amounting in all to sixty-seven [square] rods, eight feet, eight inches. . . .

Done at Fort Amsterdam this 5th day of September 1645.

Was signed WILLEM KIEFT

Below was written by order of the honorable Director General and Council of New Netherland.

Cornelis van Tienhoven Secry.

DEED to JAN VERBRUGGE from JAN LABATIE for a house and lot on Brouwer Straet, September 22, 1652.1

... Appeared before us the Director General and Council... Jan Labatie, citizen and inhabitant of Fort Orange, who declared that he had conveyed... to Jan Gillissen Verbrugge a house and lot lying next to

¹ Abstract. Original in New York State Library, Albany, Land Patents, vol. H, p. 2. [Translation.]

Deeds and Other Papers

Oloff Stevenson, in width on the street two rods, five feet and eight inches, in the rear, on the north side, two rods and one and a half feet, in length eight rods and three feet, and that in virtue of the patent granted to him...he, Jan Labatie, relinquishes all his right, title or interest... in the aforesaid house and lot.... Thus done... in Council at Fort New Amsterdam in New Netherland.

DEED to Isaack DE Forest from Jan Verbrugge for a house and lot on Brouwer Straet, October 15, 1653.¹

... Appeared before us the Director General and Council... Jan Gillissen van Brugge, and declared that he had conveyed... to Isaack Forreest, from whom he had received payment, a house and lot lying next to Ooloff Stevenson [measurements as in deed of September 22, 1652]... and that in virtue of the conveyance made to him by Jan Labatic under date of the 22d of September 1652, with all such rights of ownership as he, the grantor, has possessed therein, wherefore he... Jan Gillissen Verbrugge relinquishes all right [etc.]... in the aforesaid house and lot.

DAVID DE FOREST buys a house and lot in Stratford.

May 23, 1699. John Durand of Milford... for
twenty six pounds sells unto David Deffoorest of Stratford and his heirs... a certain house and house lott
scittuate in Stratford the said lott being in quantity

¹ Abstract. Original in New York State Library, Albany, Land Patents vol. HH, p. 50. [Translation.]

² Surgeon van der Bogaerdt, a well-known character in New Amsterdam, had built this house and was living in it as early as 1645. He died in 1648, and his widow within a few months married Jean or Jan Labatie. The latter sold it in 1652 to Verbrugge, who in turn disposed of it in 1653 to Isaack de Forest.

three quarters of an acre be it more or less with all buildings and trees thereupon bounded east and north with ye Common or Highway south with ye land of Ebenezer Booth west with land belonging to ye heirs of Jonathan Nichols deceased for him ye said David Deffoorest. [Stratford Land Records, vol. 11, part 2, p. 464. Abstract.]

Papers relating to the distribution of David de Forest's Estate.

Probate Records at Fairfield, Conn. Among these records are the following papers:—

1721, June 10. Inventory and appraisal of David de Forest's estate.

1721, June 13. Appointment of Martha Defrees as administratrix of David de Forest's estate.

1724, May 1. Order for distribution of David de Forest's estate.

1725, April 10. Distribution accomplished.

SAMUEL DE FOREST'S DEED from SAMUEL PEAT for land in Stratford.

1725/6, March 17. Samuell Peat for love & good will to my son in law Sam^{II} Deforest & Abigail his Wife the one half of my hom lot of land Stratford. Bounded as appears of Record 17 March 1725/6.

[Stratford Land Records, vol. IV, p. 45. Abstract.]

SAMUEL DE FOREST'S DEED for property on Moose Hill.

1732, July 21. I, Hezekiah Curtiss of Stratford in ye County of Fairfield, Colony of New England for ye consideration of One hundred and sixty nine pounds

Deeds and Other Papers

current money Received... of Samuel Defreest of s'd Stratford... Have sold... unto ye s'd Samuel Defreest... a certain Tract or parcel of Land Situate... in ye Parish of Ripton... att a place commonly called *Moose hill* & is in Quantity Twenty six acres; it being ye equall half of ye Tract of Land there, that was formerly my father Daniel Curtis his Land & is butting & bounding Easterly by Common Land, Northerly by John Moss, his Land... South by John Johnson & Joseph Johnson, West by Mr. Lewis his Land....

In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand & seal ye Twenty first day of July in ye Sixth year of ye Reign of our Soveraign Lord George ye Second of Great Britain, King, Annoque Domini 1732.

HEZEKIAH CURTISS.

[Stratford Land Records, vol. IV, p. 252. Abstract.]

SAMUEL DE FOREST and SAMUEL PEAT sell their house and lot in Stratford.

1733/4, Feb. 4. We Sam¹. Peat Jr. & Sam¹. Deforest both of Stratford for £240. to Peter Hepburn 1½ acres House lot Land with a Dwelling House Barn & Well thereon Stratford near ye Harbour — bounded North on highway, East and South by Joseph Prince & West by Thomas Thompson his land.

John Thompson, Register.

[The north part of the original homestead of Richard Butler.]

[Stratford Land Records, vol. IV, p. 409. Abstract.]

DAVID DE FOREST OF WILTON sells his father's Stratford homestead.

1737, May 27. David Deforest of Norwalk [Wilton], Conn., for £100. to my Honored father in law Mr. Ephraim Clark of Stratford one certain Tract of House lot Land, one acre with a Dwelling House & small Barn thereon, Stratford — Bounded East & North on Street — South by Edward Booth's Land & West by Jehiel Beardslee's Land.

John Thompson, Register.

[This was the homestead of David's father, David de Forest of Stratford, and was located at the junction of Lundy's Lane and Beardsley Avenue with Stratford Avenue.]

[Stratford Land Records, vol. vii, p. 87. Abstract.]

Nehemiah de Forest's Deed from his father Samuel for land at Moose Hill.

1767, April 10. Sam¹¹ Deforest for Love, good Will &c. to my well beloved son Nehemiah Deforest—Land situated—15 acres as part of his portion at Moose hill, bounded North on highway, West on Land of Ebenezer Lewis, South on Land of Joseph [Deforest], and to extend so far East as to make 15 acres. Bounded there on my own Land.

[Stratford Land Records, vol. xIII, p. 502. Abstract.]

NEHEMIAH DE FOREST'S DEED from his father SAMUEL for additional land at Moose Hill.

1769, April 24. Samuel Deforest for Love, etc. to my son Nehemiah Deforest as part of his portion out of my Estate 15 acres of Land situated Moose Hill.

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Bounded South East and North on highway, West on my own Land. Also one half of my Dwelling house at ye South end, one half of my Barn at ye East end. [Stratford Land Records, vol. xvi, p. 33. Abstract.]

NEHEMIAH DE FOREST sells the inn at New Stratford. 1797, Sept. 15. Nehemiah Deforest of Huntington for \$2500 sells to Nathan Wheeler, Hall Beardslee, Samuel Wheeler, a piece of land in said Huntington parish of New Stratford near the meeting house of said parish containing 14 acres be the same more or less and bounded as follows. Viz. East on highway in part and part on land of Dr. Ezra Curtis south on Dr. Ezra Curtis's land, in part on Frederick Lewis's land in part on Ezekiel Lewis's land in part west part on land of Frederick Lewis part on land of Ezekiel Lewis north on highway, reserving to himself the priviledge of living on and occupying the premises till the 15th day of May next and of reaping and carrying of the crops that is now on the land.

LEGRAND M. LEWIS, Witness. [Huntington Town Records, vol. 11, p. 443. Abstract.]

Lockwood de Forest and others buy a house and land in New Haven from James Bonticou.

1804, Nov. 21. James Bonticou for \$9000 sells to Andrew Hull Jr., John Buckley, Lockwood De Forest and Elihu Daggett about one acre of land in New Township with all buildings thereon—bounded northerly by highway, easterly by land of William Fairchild, southerly by Wooster Street, westerly by Olive Street. Also one piece near Ship Yard with all buildings thereon standing.

[New Haven Town Records, vol. LIV, p. 59. Abstract.]

Lockwood de Forest and others buy two stores on Union Wharf in New Haven.

1804, Aug. 25. I Andrew Hull Jr... of New Haven
... For the Consideration of Fifteen Hundred
Dollars Received... of John Buckley, Lockwood De
Forest & Elihu Daggett of New Haven... Do...
Sell... unto the said Buckley, De Forest & Daggett
... those undivided 4th parts of a Certain piece of
Land with two Stores standing thereon — being in the
City of New Haven on the West side of Union Wharf,
being the First & second stores from the North end
of the Long range with all the Land & Flats thereunto
belonging....

Andr. Hull Jr.
[New Haven Town Records, vol. Liv, p. 13. Abstract.]

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